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AUTHOR MacDonald, Barry; And Others
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ABSTRACT

The background, design, results, and implications of an investigation of bilingual education, based on programs in Boston, are examined. The goals of the investigation were to: (1) portray bilingual schooling in practice; (2) provide an educational critique of bilingual schooling; (3) analyze the issues; and (4) review bilingual research, evaluation, and recommendations. An in-depth study was conducted at Boston's Rafael Hernandez Elementary School, which was observed for 3 weeks. Minor studies of three other Boston bilingual programs at the elementary, middle school, and high school levels were also conducted. The analysis involved a study of bilingual policy and politics in Boston, based on interviews and documents, supplemented by secondary bilingual data from the existing literature. Rafael Hernandez Elementary School is described through a visiting observer's reconstruction of events and experiences, followed by detailed information about the Hernandez school in action. A more structured and less detailed account of the three supplementary schools, which offer bilingual programs as an adjunct to a mainstream curriculum, is provided. The concluding section considers: language, teaching, and bilingual schooling; curriculum development and reunification; an overview of politics and bilingual education; and linguistic minorities in Britain. An appendix discusses the research design and methods. (SW)

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bread and dreams

A Case Study of Bilingual Schooling in the U.S.A.

by: Barry MacDonald
Clem Adelman
Saville Kushner
Rob Walker

contributors: Maria Brisk
Lucia David
Juan Martinez
Adriana Rodriguez
Michele Sola

editors: Barry MacDonald
Saville Kushner

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Few empirical research studies owe no debts. Case study probably accrues more than most. Our acknowledgements relate to contributions which, as a consequence of our methodological conscription, come from a wide range of people, many of whom can claim some investment in this final report, and most of whom helped to generate and improve accounts. There are too many to mention by name and they will have to recognise themselves from the brief list which follows.

The teachers, aides and other staff of the Rafael Hernandez School for once more renouncing their rights to privacy in favour of the public's need to know. The pupils of the school for continuing the tradition of tolerance and serendipity which makes fieldwork so stimulating. The parents of the pupils for exposing their children to the scrutiny of strangers.

The Boston School Committee for permission.

Boston University for its hospitality and facilities.

Members of the Boston community who spoke to us warmly (often hotly); none of whom refused to be interviewed when asked; all of whom provided rich and comprehensive accounts. Special mention might be made of those who, when asked, agreed to be named in this report.

Reactors to early drafts of the first two sections of the report. There were many individuals in Britain and America who helped to improve drafts, only four of whom were commissioned by the Ford Foundation to do so. In many cases reactors wrote lengthy letters or gave lengthy interviews.

Our own colleagues who helped us to reflect upon the data and to find ways of organising our thoughts, as well as those who helped in its production. These latter include Sheila Pink and Marianne Bartlett, in particular, who typed the greater part of the drafts and the final master copy.

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INTRODUCTION

BARRY MACDONALD

As we write this introduction relationships between the United States and their South American neighbours are at a low ebb. There is war in the South Atlantic between Britain and Argentina over possession of the Falkland Islands/Malvinas, and the decision of the U.S. to back Britain has reinstated the primacy of Euro-American ties and degraded recent efforts by the Reagan administration to cultivate a pan-american alliance. As most of you will remember, the U.S., embarrassed by a conflict between old and new allies, maintained in the early stages of the war an even-handed, mediating role. The mediators were careful, in referring to the disputed territory, never to do so by name, because to do so would have entailed a choice between languages, a choice between the English and Spanish identity of the island. Mediation failed however to stem the escalation of hostilities, and the combination of North Atlantic treaty obligations and predominant domestic feeling led to an open declaration of support for the British. One immediate effect was the reopening of old latin american wounds, old fears, old grievances, old slogans. 'Yankees', 'gringos', and 'colonialistas' were restored to pride of place in the political graffiti of the South American states. No matter what the outcome of the war a lasting residue of Hispanic mistrust is assured.

The war may be a long way from Boston, where our case study is located, and perhaps it may seem only fancifully connected to the question of how the children of U.S. citizens should be educated, even the children of Spanish speaking citizens. The connection is less fanciful than it appears at first sight. Bilingual schooling, which has had federal and state support since 1968, is an intensively politicised issue that involves all linguistic and cultural minorities but revolves around the growing Hispanic presence in the U.S.A., a country that continues to be a magnet for poor and persecuted people everywhere, but particularly for Hispanics south of its two thousand mile long border. Estimates of the number of Hispanics in the U.S. vary between fourteen and twenty two million, the variation arising from differing levels of confidence in Census counts, different guesses about how many millions of illegal immigrants there are,

and of course different purposes. But the number is increasing rapidly and will continue to do so. Unemployment in the United States is dwarfed by that in Mexico where more than half the population is without work, so that even though migration from Puerto Rico has levelled out at around two million and immigration from Cuba virtually stabilised at three quarters of a million, Central and South American Hispanics sustain the population drive. It won't be long before Hispanics outstrip blacks as the largest minority in the United States.

As a resident community in the U.S. Hispanics are not of course new. Los Angeles, San Franciso, San Diego - Hispanics were founder members of this country, but have always been excluded, sometimes cruelly, from its opportunity structure. A dispensable labour force, they were rounded up for forced repatriation during the Depression to get them off the welfare dollar, and they died in disproportionate numbers in World War II. Chicano history particularly is a history of systematic oppression and cynical stigmatisation. Recent influxes from various points on the hemispheric compass have consolidated this lowly social and economic status. With the exception of the Cuban refugees who flooded Florida Hispanic immigrants have been mainly the destitute surplus of bankrupt agrarian economies, poor people with little education, few trained skills, and little experience of the kind of socio-political organisation needed to combat the functional discrimination of sophisticated democracies. They move into the hand-me-down jobs of the occupational sub-strata, as seasonal farm labour, as the cleaners, waiters and dishwashers of the service industries, as the minders and operatives of urban light manufacture. Dead-end jobs on take it or leave it terms. Hispanics have the lowest per capita income of any group in the United States.

That is the baseline, but not the whole story. In the nineteen-fifties and sixties, under the impetus of industrial change and black migration the electoral structure of political power in the U.S. changed dramatically, the civil rights movement developed, and poor groups everywhere found unexpected support in the executive and judicial agencies of federal government. West coast Hispanic professionals, especially the second, third and fourth generation custodians of bitter family histories, began to organise on behalf of their community, adding system know-how, back-up and follow-up to the kind of "Basta-ya" defiance exemplified by

Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers struggle for unionisation. Linking up with activist leaders of Hispanic communities across the nation, they began the difficult task of mobilising the growing numbers of Hispanic immigrants into a political force, a task that is still a long way from accomplishment. It involves the dismantling of a disenfranchising obstacle course (English literacy tests, exclusionary residency requirements, intimidation were some of the hurdles) as well as the cultivation of proactive political attitudes. Immigrants, especially those from neighbouring countries, hang onto the past, cherishing an allegiance to the land and culture of their birth, minimising their involvement in the host country, especially when they encounter hostility. Many of them dream of going home, though there is nothing there for them but the conditions that impelled them to leave. They are slow to take out citizenship (even the Cubans), slow to register as voters, slow to vote, and slow to develop the competitive greed that gives successful groups their economic edge. And they are slow to trust even their own middle class.

The federal government's war on poverty, heartenningly declared in the mid-sixties, didn't last very long and was resoundingly lost, a fate that just as surely awaits the new government's war on welfare, but it left behind a legislative framework that is the continuing basis of further advance by the country's minority groups. Prominent among the legislative legacies and most significant for this particular study is the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which was enacted with high hopes of benefiting disadvantaged children and breaking the cycle of poverty by a massive infusion of federal dollars. In 1968, under Title VII of ESEA, Congress passed the first Bilingual Education Act which provided financial incentives for school districts to develop demonstration programmes for linguistic minority pupils. Hispanics were, and remain, the largest such group in the U.S. and the main beneficiaries of this seminal, as of subsequent categorical funding, which expanded throughout the seventies, as did resistance and opposition from the English-dominant white citizenry. Economic recession, linguistic and cultural ethnocentrism, and Hispanic assertiveness are now the ingredients of a volatile scenario on the stage of American pluralism. The nineteen-eighties may prove to be a watershed for the latino power drive, or see the collapse of a movement that is still fragilely poised on the brink of potency. Hispanics may be forgiven for reading in the entrails of the South Atlantic farce disturbing portents.

In choosing such a perspective to frame an educational issue we are aware of exercising a preference that many of our readers may not feel comfortable with. Some critics of the draft of this report have argued forcefully that to locate bilingual schooling within a context of political and economic struggle is to degrade its educational rationale to the status of a pretext and to feed the fears of its opponents. This is a danger we readily acknowledge, and it is not enough of a counter for us to point out that the major portion of this report is devoted to an exposition of bilingual schooling in educational terms. But in this matter one chooses between dangers, not between the dangerous and the safe. To less than fully acknowledge the vocabularies of action and reaction that we hope to refine and augment would be another danger. To play down the role of the school in the maintenance of social and economic arrangements that frustrate legitimate aspirations, to fail to address its problematic, enigmatic but compulsive attraction for all those who seek some purchase on the future would be not only to ignore the history of the twentieth century but to insulate educational discourse from the full reality of people's lives. Such discourse never has and never will decisively shape the curriculum of the public school. It is but one discourse among many. As educationists, people who earn their bread by marketing such discourse, we seek of course to maximise the influence of educational argument on the content and organisation of schooling. In this respect we share the aspirations of our critics, but disagree about strategy.

Having said that, we now want to turn the telescope around and take a close-up look at the learning problem that underpins the educational rationale of bilingual schooling. The problem is one that some children face in most parts of the world; it is in this sense a universal problem, but not one that is universally recognised or responded to. The problem, and the story we have to tell, concerns children, mostly from poor families, who confront an intimidating dilemma.

When they go to school they find that all the adults there speak only a foreign language. That language is English which is, as these children already know to their chagrin, the language of the well off, the well thought of and the well liked. Of course it is also the language of the blacks, who are none of these things, so the message about human currency

is a complex one. The children themselves may be black, or white, or yellow, or brown, and have already mastered the social colour scale. Anyway there's nothing they can do about their pigmentation. Language is another matter. They know that school is important, that a great deal of the approval and reward they need and seek revolves around doing well at school. They know that to do well in life it is necessary first to do well at school, at least as well as those children who are already fluent in the language of the curriculum. Their parents tell them so, the teachers tell them so, and the ghettoes where most of them live spell out the alternative.

But the hurdle is a formidable one. Their parents don't speak or read English, or do so very badly, the teachers don't know their mother tongue, and their own exposure to the language will have been, if not neglible, at best restricted and unsystematic. Their communities are, inevitably, less well-equipped to support them than those of the dominant culture - they tend to be short of creature comforts, school experience, domestic stability, sustained aspiration. Their parents are consciously poor in the proximity of conspicuous affluence, a degrading condition they hope their children at least can be spared.

These children, the offspring of first generation immigrants and migrants, have of course the normal range of abilities and aptitudes. This means that a few of them vault all the barriers including the linguistic, excel most of their more advantaged fellow-pupils, and go on to enjoy individual success.

But for the more ordinarily endowed and the less able, burdened in any case by the debilitating impact of poverty and prejudice, it's a struggle they cannot win. They fail, most of them quickly, many of them dismally and, such was the rhetoric of opportunity and hope that attended their scholastic launching, it does not occur to them that the school has failed them. Encouraged to aspire, they put their self-esteem at risk, and they lose, with predictable personal, social and economic consequences. It is essential, we think, to define the problem thus starkly, without too many distracting qualifications. The problem of providing equal educational opportunity for linguistic minorities who happen also to be poor is one that demands candidness about the scale of disadvantage.

When we come to the point in this account where we seek to appraise the efforts of one small pioneering school in Boston to overcome this disadvantage we will do no-one a service by understating it. Nor, we believe, to return to the criticism mentioned earlier, can the learning problems of poor children be sensibly divorced from the condition of the communities from which they spring. The bilingual schooling debate has, in our view, persistently fudged this point.

Bilingual schooling, which means simply the use of two languages for instruction, is an idea struggling to find its most effective form of expression and an educational movement struggling to escape its own political history. These two struggles are inextricably linked, a conclusion that to some will be self-evident but to many others highly contestable. We hope of course that the story we have to tell in this report will enable the reader to make up his own mind, not just on this broad issue, though it is of inestimable importance for all those involved in the bilingual movement, but on the precise nature of the links between curriculum on the ground and curriculum in all the arenas - legislative, judicial, executive, and scientific - that have created and restricted its possibilities. Bilingual education continues to involve, in complex forms of interaction, propulsion and direction, a cross-section of the organisational and cultural structure of the United States. Its future is difficult to predict and will be hard to shape. In this report we try to understand its contemporary forms in terms of its past. In a concluding comment we will return to a consideration of its emergent needs and options.

Genesis and Rationale of the Study

One section of this report is devoted to a critical consideration by one of the team of the performance of the research. This introduction explains how it came about and what it hoped to accomplish.

The pre-history began with a chance meeting between Maria Brisk, head of Boston University's Bilingual Program, and Marjorie Martus, a program officer of the Ford Foundation, which had a track record in bilingual education going back to some pioneering experiments in Miami for Cuban refugees. Both women were critical of the kind of evaluation research that the federal government was backing in respect to bilingual programmes,

a heavily product-oriented comparison of innovatory and established provision. Maria suggested, in the course of the conversation, that what was needed was a process-oriented case study of good practice. She further suggested that the Rafael Hernandez Elementary School, Boston's one and only bilingual/bicultural school, would make a good case. This conversation took place sometime in the mid seventies, when the debate about the merits and justice of bilingual provision was already polarising into advocates and adversaries, claims and counter claims. The atmosphere of mistrust itensified to a point where Marjorie, now committed to the idea of a case study, and sensitive to the credibility gap between bilingual activists and the bilingual evaluation community, was attracted to the possibility of inviting someone from outside the U.S.A. to propose such a study. The upshot was that in 1978 Barry MacDonald, an experienced programme evaluator from England and a lapsed Spanish linguist, made a feasibility visit to Boston to explore the acceptability of the idea and to negotiate cooperation and access. The result of that visit was the following proposal, the main text of which is reproduced here without alteration.

1. Context and Focus

Bilingual schooling is an intensely politicised educational issue in the United States at the present time. In a period of eleven years, since the Title VII amendment to ESEA 65 ushered in an era of federal support for bilingual programs, this growing educational practice has become increasingly enmeshed in a complex debate about how a liberal democratic society should provide its multicultural and multilinguistic citizenry with equal opportunities. Title VII was conceived as support for the process of linguistic transition from minority language to English, the dominant North American language, but there is evidence (confirmed by the AIR report) which suggests that for many of those engaged in the development of bilingual provision the maintenance of minority languages is also an important goal. Some critics of bilingual schooling see language maintenance as a form of cultural imperialism that threatens to fragment the nation into a divisive pluralism, a direct challenge in other words to the 'melting-pot' tradition of assimilation. Some advocates, on the other hand, point to the links between language dominance and political and economic dominance, and argue that cultural and linguistic parity of esteem are essential pre-conditions of equal opportunities.

Although there are something like eighty minority languages involved in bilingual provision, such views are typically advanced in the context of English/Spanish instruction. Hispanics constitute the largest and the fastest growing language minority in the country, and Spanish is the dominant minority language in bilingual provision. But even Hispanics are only a small proportion of the total population (12 million, or 5.6 per cent, according to

the latest Census Bureau figures) although more than half of them are concentrated in three states, California, Texas, and New York State. This has led to complexities and conflict in making bilingual provision consistent with desegregation requirements, and to an important role for the courts in assigning ratios. In the case of Boston, where the proposed study would be located, bilingual needs were recognised in the desegregation plan ordered by Judge Garrity in the context of existing state legislation mandating bilingual provision. His 1975 plan provided bilingual programs throughout the city, and also created a city-wide 'district' of magnet schools, each with a distinctive curriculum theme, as an integration mechanism with a built-in latitude on ethnic ratios and an emphasis on parent and student choice. The flexibility of this desegregation plan allowed the development of one of these magnet schools, the Rafael Hernandez Elementary School, as a fully bilingual, multicultural school which has quickly acquired a reputation as a model of bilingual education. Spanish is the minority language medium (a majority of the students are migrant Puerto Ricans) while most of the English-dominant students are black. The proposer seeks the support of the Foundation for a case-study of the Rafael Hernandez school as an example of bilingual education in practice. The study would be carried out by a CARE-based team of researchers led by the proposer, and supported by staff and students of the Boston University Bilingual Program. The case of the Rafael Hernandez would be presented as the core element in an overview of bilingual education in the city of Boston. Details of the study design follow. First, however, there is the issue of whether such a study would serve any useful purpose.

2. Studies of Bilingual Education

There is a vast literature on bilingualism, but as the Center for Applied Linguistics points out, "Most of the research on bilingualism has focused on the nature of the phenomenon itself and not on its relevance to educational decision-making." In a similar vein, although on a different point, Fishman has said that bilingual research has fallen into the same trap as desegregation research, which has only recently abandoned its obsession with the simplistic "either/or" issue to look for indices of effective education in desegregated situations. This is not surprising. Both innovations are examples of broad aims programs of unusual political significance. They polarise public opinion and in consequence there is an irresistible demand that they demonstrate their effectiveness in terms of specific objectives which typically under-state the intents and aspirations of the advocates. Very complex hopes and fears come to rest upon rather premature, and somewhat reductionist measures of benefit, such as comparative gain scores on tests of basic skills. Since the very existence of the innovation is contested there tends to be a sustained but narrow concentration on the kind of summative data that could decisively influence the outcome of the political battle. The AIR study is but the latest of such efforts, its conclusions hailed as a triumph by the critics of bilingual schooling and rejected as biased and inadequate by the advocates, who have become increasingly cynical about the research/evaluation contribution to the bilingual debate.

I must say that my sympathies in this matter lie with the latter group. Direct comparisons on predetermined output criteria between

established and innovative practices in the schooling of linguistically disadvantaged students do not seem to take sufficient account of the circumstances in which bilingual experiments have developed. Often they have been imposed by the courts on reluctant administrations, and lack managerial support at the local level. They are mostly very new, and therefore unskilled in the forms of instruction they are trying to pioneer. They lack the resources, both in experience and training, to carry out the task. Extra money they have, but it takes time to make this work for them rather than against in comparisons with traditional courses. Perhaps above all they lack the kind of research assistance that is directed to the improvement of bilingual schooling through the identification of its current strengths and weaknesses as an educational experience. Yet there is no sign of congressional support for bilingual programs weakening. Federal aid has increased annually from the initially modest appropriation of 7.5 million dollars in 1968, and is projected to reach 400 million by 1983. In such a context the dearth of formative studies of bilingual teaching is a serious impediment to the development of good practice. We still know far too little about the process of bilingual schooling. It is a major aim of the proposed study to make a contribution in this area.

3. The Case for a CARE Study

Why fund a team from outside the United States to carry out this work, why a team from CARE, why this particular team? Let us take these questions in the order in which they are posed.

When educational issues become politicised to the extent that bilingual schooling has become politicised, the objectivity of the social science community becomes suspect. It is not that scientists are suspected of cooking the research book, or of cooption as an instrument of factional interest, rather that their designs and instruments are shaped by ideological assumptions that they may not be able to identify. The bilingual researcher cannot but be influenced by his immersion as a citizen, a taxpayer and a parent in the issues at stake. He is a consumer of policy, with an 'interest' in the outcome. The fundamentally contradictory nature of a decade of research on the effects of desegregation has amply illustrated the ideology/technology axis in social research and the difficulty of attaining the necessary degree of detachment from the political theatre. Bilingual education research suffers from these same difficulties, and already the objectivity (fairness might be a better word) of bilingual research in the USA has lost some credibility. The vested interest of the research community in promoting research-based decision-making in bilingual education is considered to be a compounding source of contamination, but even efforts (such as Noel Epstein's) to offer a critique from outside both the bilingual and the research communities have met with heated accusations of partisanship. In such a climate the case for supporting a non-American study of bilingual schooling is a strong one. Such a study could offer a fresh perspective from a group of researchers detached from both the antecedents and the consequences of the investigation.

Why a team from CARE? Several reasons. What is envisaged is a case study of bilingual schooling, with a central concern to depict and analyse its instructional, learning and organisational

processes. Since the centre was established nine years ago it has built up a tradition of work in the case study of schools and in particular of the curriculum process in schools and classrooms. In curriculum research, development, dissemination and evaluation CARE has an international reputation. In the evaluation of innovatory programs the proposer has developed an approach (known as democratic evaluation) which is primarily concerned to be fair to competing interest groups with divergent definitions of the situation and conflicting informational needs. This approach is thought to be most suited to the investigation of politicised educational issues which turn upon empirical claims.

Why this particular team? The proposer, Barry MacDonald, is the most experienced educational evaluator in the U.K. He also happens to be a lapsed linguist, with a Master's Degree in Spanish and French, and a certified teacher of Spanish as a second language. He was also an elementary school teacher for two years before moving into the research field. Rob Walker is an experienced practitioner of case study research who recently carried out a study of a Boston high school under the auspices of the Illinois-based CSSR program. This study was highly thought of by the present superintendent of the Boston Public Schools, Robert Wood. Clem Adelman, who left the Centre three years ago to carry out a study of student choice in Bulmershe College of Education, is an experienced ethomethodologist with a strong interest in linguistics. He has completed several research studies of schooling, with a particular focus on the learning experience of young children. All three of the team have worked together previously. Saville Kushner, a graduate student who will assist Barry MacDonald with the negotiation of the proposed study in the final stage of the research, is a student of educational policy and politics who also has some fluency in Spanish.

The strengths of the team clearly lie in their skill and experience in the study of curriculum process, and their detachment from the bilingual controversy. The weaknesses are equally obvious. They don't know much about bilingual schooling or about Boston (although Rob Walker's experience is something to build on) and they are linguistically under-qualified. This is why it is proposed that the research be carried out in cooperation with Boston University, which already has a formal link to the Rafael Hernandez under the Garrity desegregation plan. Maria Brisk, Director of Boston University's Bilingual Program, has agreed in principle to be consultant to the study team, and to involve her graduate students in the research, providing both a supplementary research study of bilingual provision in the Boston schools as a whole, and also providing each of the three main CARE research staff with a bilingual assistant who is proficient in the minority language of the school and community.

4. Outline Design of the Study

Goals

1. A portrayal of bilingual schooling in practice.
2. An educational critique of bilingual schooling.
3. An issues analysis of bilingual schooling.
4. A review of bilingual research and evaluation, and recommendations.

The main data source of the portrayal and educational critique will be the work of the Rafael Hernandez School, which will be intensively

observed by the research team over a period of three weeks. This case study will be supplemented by minor studies of bilingual programs in other Boston schools, carried out by graduate students under the direction of the Director of Boston University's Bilingual Program, Maria Brisk. Rob Walker and Clem Adelman, together with Maria Brisk, will carry the responsibility for portrayal and educational critique. The issues analysis will be based upon a study of bilingual policy and politics in Boston as these affect the practice of bilingual schooling. The data will be interview and document based, and will be supplemented by secondary data about issues in bilingual schooling more generally, from the existing literature.

The data and conclusions yielded by the Boston study will be the basis for an evaluation of existing research/evaluation programs, priorities and design in bilingual schooling, and will lead to recommendations for further research and evaluation. Barry MacDonald will carry the main responsibility for issues analysis, research review, and recommendations.

Product

The study will be embodied in a written report under the editorship of Barry MacDonald. This report will in draft form be made available to those who will have participated in the study. They will be asked to comment on its fairness, accuracy, and relevance, and to suggest improvements. Participant critiques will be incorporated in the final report, either by amendment, deletion, addition, or explicit acknowledgement. The report in its final form will be made publicly available at the conclusion of the study.

So much for aspiration. In the event the degree of integration of the research effort promised in the proposal was less than fully realised, a shortfall which explains the structure and authorship of the different sections of this report. This may leave the reader with more to do than was originally intended, particularly in terms of integrating the study of the school with the studies of bilingual programmes in its district. The problems of studying bilingual schooling, like the problems of developing and improving it, are far from being resolved by what we have done with this rare opportunity. We do hope we have made some modest advances in needed directions, and that we have something useful to say.

SECTION ONE - CURRICULUM IN PROSPECT

BARRY MACDONALD

Preamble and section acknowledgements

The account that follows is essentially a visiting observer's reconstruction of events and experiences. It is based on a brief immersion in a distant community and a somewhat longer exposure to the chronicles of its many historians and social analysts. I am grateful to all of them, but particularly to the twentysix people who talked to me and my tape recorder, usually at considerable length, about the story and circumstances of bilingual schooling in Boston. All of them have influenced this account although few are cited. New histories even of the living, succeed in being histories of human experience, and the one that follows is no exception. But I have tried to reduce and alleviate the non-participant's reliance on surface features and public events by weaving into narrative some strands of personal biography. The individuals chosen by me to humanise the account could not have anticipated such an outcome of their cooperation, and I wish to record my profound thanks to each of them for agreeing to be featured in this way.

Finally I want to thank Juan Martinez and Lucia David of Boston University for setting up the interviews and helping me in so many ways to get to grips with the meanings of bilingual schooling in Boston. But I must stress that neither they, nor any of the interviewees, are responsible for any errors of fact or of judgement in the ensuing story.

Chelsea
Charlestown
East Boston
Harvard Univ.
Cambridge
M.I.T.
West End
North End
Charles River
Beacon Hill
Logan Airport
Back Bay
Boston Univ.
South End
Brighton
South Boston
Brookline
Roxbury
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Newton
Columbia Point
RAFAEL HERNANDEZ
Dorchester
Roslindale
Mattapan
Quincy
Milton
Dedham
City Boundary

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CURRICULUM IN PROSPECT

"Leave the poor to the poets and the statisticians."

("Howard's End")

That comment, from E.M.Forster's classic novel of the budding twentieth century, has lost none of its satirical appositeness seven decades later. Another place, another time, but the affluent weary, as ever, of being haunted by their casualties. Only the words change. Boston, in 1980, has its poor, and their poets and statisticians. But now, here, the poor are called 'minorities', because few of them are English speaking whites. This story is mainly about one of these minorities, those who speak Spanish.

Boston is a mess. This historic city, cradle of American liberty and of libertarian mythology, is caught in a negative spiral of urban blight. Unless the process can be reversed, a desideratum for which there is presently neither the political will nor the social technology, the core of the city may soon be abandoned to its immobile stigmatised and neglected communities, mocked by the wealth of its exurbs, from which each day two-thirds of the city's work force commute along federally subsided freeways to the watch-towers of its private and public bureaucracies. En route they traverse the intervening suburbs of the metropolis, suburbs which increasingly reflect the out-migration of skilled and unskilled labour to the favoured sites of growth industries.

Most of these city-bound, out of town commuters are white and white-collared, all of them are middle-class. Some are trickling back to live in the hub of downtown Boston, in the condominiums that twenty years of so-called urban renewal have wrested from the central ghettoes. These condominiums are the reclamations that entrepreneurial slumlords, with the complicity of a tax-hungry administration, increasingly inflict upon the old and the poor tenants who were left behind in the post-war exodus. The comfortable in-migrators include the new pioneers, the liberal pro-urbanites who sustain

the rhetoric of social rehabilitation and draw their salaries from the poverty industry. Mostly they leave their families at least a school system away from their weekday pieds a terre in Back Bay and the South End; mostly they are amongst those most concerned at tenant displacement from the commercial nucleus, most distressed at the 3% vacancy rate facing the evicted, most supportive of the rearguard actions of tenant co-operatives fighting the abacus instincts of the banks and the slumlords. But for the old and poor of the inner city it's a losing battle to the economics of condomania, underwhelmed by federal handouts for tenant activism and legislative funk under the dome of state on Beacon Hill. The prospect of an American Johannesburg is a spectral taunt now hanging in the air of dithering debate, a second nemesis for Boston's well-heeled egalitarians who in the early sixties had their city branded the Mississipi of the North by the NAACP.

Greater Boston has a population nearing three million, a State majority. It is both quantitatively and qualitatively predominant in American higher education, boasting more than sixty post-secondary institutions, with Harvard and MIT crowning its vast academic community. It lionised George McGovern, spearheaded the assault on the 'racist' Vietnam misadventure, took pride in a succession of pro-underdog postures and a record of liberalising legislation. And, perhaps lulled by the comfort of its words, perhaps by the merit of its comforts, it failed to notice, the atrophy of opportunity on its own doorstep. That was to bring the postures home to roost.

There is, and was, another Boston, within the city limits, with a population of 620,000, the city of neighbourhoods, of 'ethnics', a Catholic city, city of the Irish immigrants who began to flood in from the mid-nineteenth century onwards and who, by the second decade of the twentieth century were in full command of the city's internal political structure. But, if not exactly Pyrrhic, this victory over the dominant Protestant elite was a victory with limited spoils. The Irish captured the scaffolding of the local economy but the vaults were already secure, and were to remain so. Moreover, the business elite had lost its dynamic; not only sealed off, it was burped out, and given over to the social architecture of class exclusivity, cultural mystique and, ultimately, ethical precept. Having banked two centuries of expansion, they yielded the city to the Irish, and the Italians and Jews and Poles and other Europeans who followed. But not the wealth and not even the effective control which was judiciously transferred to the State

and the metropolis. There was no way up for the Irish class, who came to the wrong place, at the wrong time, and stayed too long for too little. The mistake was to be repeated a century later by the southern black Americans, those who have now joined them in the poverty trap that is the slow maturing legacy of the artisans and clerks of Boston's rigid social order.

Boston in the fifties was one of many Northern cities unprepared for a sudden influx of destitute economic refugees. Black migration dislocated municipal welfare economies and black protest threatened the urban bedrock of the Democratic vote. The Kennedy politics of poverty followed and dominated the sixties before the leaner years of the seventies saw a renaissance of the bootstrap appeal to self-reliance.

By 1960 black migrants in substantial numbers, uprooted, dumped and exiled from the rural South by Federally subsidised technolo_isation of the agricultural economy, had settled in the decaying infrastructure of Boston, in the South End and Roxbury, spreading west into Jamaica Plain and south into Dorchester. More than fifty thousand of them, a modest number in relation to other major cities, but sufficient to accelerate white exodus and intensify the residential territorialism which had long characterised the distribution of the white ethnic communities. The newcomers were unskilled and unsophisticated, much like the Irish had been before them. They looked to manufacturing industry for economic opportunity and found jobs both scarce and hereditary. Foreign competition and relocation had already undermined Boston's traditional trades, there was growing white unemployment and total white labour control. They looked to the city for jobs and found a job-dispensing monopoly in the hands of the block-voting Irish majority - there was no way into the police force, the fire service, or the schools. They looked to commerce and to the new technology-based growth industries and found themselves underskilled. They looked to the public schools for a remedy and found Jonathan Kozol's nightmare. They looked to the increasingly horrified voyeurs on the Harvard bank of the Charles River, to those who had lectured the South on the iniquities of Jim Crow, and they found strong words but weak law. They looked to Washington and found bandwagons and band-aids. They took to the streets and in the end, as they had done in the South, they took to the courts.

By 1975 the Boston public schools were under the direct administration of Federal District Court judge Arthur Garrity, who had earlier pronounced the elected School Committee guilty of deliberate segregation. And now the South Boston Irish were on the streets, besieging the yellow buses of the Garrity remedy, outraged by the hypocrisy of a solution that was imposed by the city users upon city dwellers ("Bus Ted Kennedy") affronted by the conspiracy of under-dog and over-dog against middle America. For a while Boston teetered on the brink of civil disorder; the world watched, and the Boston Globe picked up a Pulitzer prize.

By 1980 the school system was chafing under direct legal rule, its new, Harvard educated, imported Superintendent striving for the kind of proactive command that might persuade the court to drop the reins. Boston was quiet, but nervous. And it was still poor, and getting poorer, beset by recurrent financial crises, fiscal economies at state and federal level, rising welfare costs, increasing unemployment, a selectively declining population, and a stagnant revenue base. Seventy per cent of city revenue derived from property tax, and more than half of its real estate was tax exempt, including its wealthy private universities. It had the highest cost of living of any mainland American city: school costs had risen almost two hundred per cent in a decade. Inflation nationally had reached eighteen per cent. More than twelve per cent of its residents were below the official poverty line, most of them black or Puerto Rican, or both.

Hispanics, the largest linguistic minority in Boston, as they are in the country as a whole, played no small part in the struggles and conflicts of the past twenty years, pursuing the logic of their own advantage on the stage of civil rights. In 1960 the U.S. census recorded the apparently insignificant fact that fewer than one thousand Hispanics lived in Boston. This statistic underwent repeated multiplication in the following years as the combined effect of New York overspill (in 1960 eight per cent of New Yorkers were Puerto Rican) Cuban immigration, industrial modernisation and economic decline rapidly altered the demography of migrant opportunism. By the end of the decade, there were upwards of thirty-five thousand Hispanics in Boston, most of them poor uneducated farmworkers from the U.S. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, but also including a variety of South American aliens and Caribbeans, a substantial number of middle-class Cubans, and a smattering of urbanised and professionalised continental Puerto Ricans. By the

end of the next decade, 1980, Massachusetts had close on two hundred thousand Spanish speaking residents, and in the city of Boston the proportion of Hispanics had risen to ten per cent of the population. (During the same period the black community had more than doubled its size.)

The newest Bostonians inherited the residential legacy of the crumbling spine of the inner city, following the blacks into the South End, Roxbury, Dorchester, Jamaica Plain and Brighton. United by contiguity, by need and by language rather than by race they generated a new political and social constituency within the city, with its own culture, its own agencies, its own media of communication and, for a short time at least, its own school. That school was, is, the Rafael Hernandez, a small and richly endowed fortress in the heart of impoverished Dorchester.

To call the school a fortress is more than an acknowledgement of its fortuitous architectural legacy and opportunist creation (see following section); it is to assert its symbolic significance in the Hispanic community's continuing fight for effective educational provision, a fight that has now been joined for more than a decade, since consciousness of the plight of a growing and largely un-schooled Hispanic citizenry triggered a grass-roots movement for legislative and executive action.

To call the school richly endowed is not to suggest that it is over-endowed in terms of the needs of its pupils; that would be a difficult argument to sustain when Hispanic graduation from Boston Public Schools is still negligible although more than twelve per cent of the students are Hispanic, when, for the academic year 1976-1977, out of a total of 111 public and private institutions of higher education in the state of Massachusetts, only nine institutions had a Hispanic enrolment greater than three per cent, and only three of these nine were in the city of Boston. Indices of Hispanic employment and income levels reinforce the picture of a disadvantaged community, although comparisons with the general population tend to mask the plight of other disadvantaged minorities.

In noting the endowment of the school I want to draw attention to the complexity of its resource base rather than its comparative affluence because this will help us to delineate some important parameters of its

political context. Schools like the Rafael Hernandez embody in their resource structure the intricate intersections of local, state, and rederal educational politics and illuminate the game strategies by means of which the control of public schooling is contested and exploited by those whose varying interests and constituencies generate competing agendas and priorities.

This is the story of the Rafael Hernandez, its pre-history, its origins, its place and meaning in the bilingual education movement. Most of this report is rightly concerned with what goes on within the school; the purpose of this section is to enable the reader to bring to that portrayal some understanding of how its circumstances were shaped and some sense of what its future could be.

The mobilisation of consciousness about the plight of the linguistic minorities in the U.S.A. did not originate in the East, although Massachusetts was to become the first state to mandate a bilingual solution. It began where most of the Hispanics were, and had always been, in the South West, in Texas, California and New Mexico. And it "took off" in the sixties, in the Kennedy years, when the egalitarian proclamations of the White House harnessed to the taken-for-granted power of social technology promised to redress the grievances of the historically deprived. It ushered in a new era of inter-class alignments backed by big, big-spending and increasingly entreprenaurial, government. In part the bilingual movement exploited the slipstream of the black civil rights movement that since 1956 had been gathering strength and confidence. Blacks were no 'invisible minority', the catchphrase attached to the Chicanos by their spokesman, but a potent political presence. It was the blacks who, throughout the sixties, in Birmingham, Selma, Memphis, Detroit, Chicago, in Washington and points north, confronted opponents and supporters alike to demand action against de facto racism. They wrested the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 from a precarious administration, and they rioted in Los Angeles. They softened up the system managers and created the space and the style in which other minorities could advance. And it was the blacks who, in choosing the school system as their battleground, popularised the conception that the instruments of oppression are ipso facto the levers of redress.

In the mid-sixties, as a result of a series of surveys and reports, the under schooling of Mexican Americans (in Texas thirty-nine per cent of them had less than a fifth-grade education) surfaced in debate and became an issue of conscience and advocacy. The problem was located in the failure of the schools to recognise and utilise their dominant language. The National Education Association recommended the provision of bilingual education, and in 1967 Congress stirred. Senator Yarborough of Texas tried and failed to introduce an amendment of the ESEA Act of 1965, providing bilingual education for those with Spanish surnames. The federal bureaucracy was resistant, convinced that Title 1 (covering English as a Second Language) and Title III (reading remediation) were adequate to meet the need. But the pressure grew and when President Johnson established a Mexican Affairs Unit in July of that year the Office of Education fell into line with the rising tide of expectation.

More bills calling for a federal/state response to linguistic minorities came before Senate, until Scheur of New York rewrote Yarborough's bill to include all non-English speaking children. In January, 1968 this amended bill became Title VII, the Bilingual Education Act; the movement gained a national character almost immediately as well as a legislated position from which to challenge the classic assimilationist posture of those who in the early decades of the century had outlawed minority languages as media of public instruction. A modest seven and a half million dollars was appropriated by Congress under Title VII for the 1969/70 school year. RFP notification was circulated and sixty-five pilot programmes were funded.

One of the sixty-five grants went to the city of Boston, where one in three of a then substantial population of Spanish speaking children was not in school and where the previous four years had yielded only four Puerto Rican graduates from the high schools of the city. Boston had one Hispanic policeman, no Hispanic firemen, no Hispanic political representatives at any level. Its school system was massively dominated by the white majority, particularly by the block-voting Irish, who commanded the five member School Committee, nine member Council, and the Mayorship. And the schools were segregated, systematically. Consciousness of the imminent scale of the educational problem posed by Boston's growing Hispanic community was largely absent in the early sixties, undoubtedly overshadowed by the darkening cloud of the segregation issue. And many of those who would subsequently

play important roles in the bilingual movement had not yet arrived in the city. In 1965, when Beacon Hill passed the anti-segregation Racial Imbalance Law and thereby gave the Boston School committee warning of the shape of things to come, Robert Dentler and Alex Rodriguez were still in New York. Maria Kline was learning English by immersion in a New Hampshire school, Maria Brisk was training ESL teachers in Peru, Liana Perez-Felix teaching high school in Puerto Rico, while Carmen Pola was organising a Chicano and black community in California. Robert Wood, the current Superintendent of the Boston school system, was heading a presidential task force on urban problems.

At that time awareness and response to linguistic disqualification was in Boston confined to the expansion of ESL provision. Bob Saitz, who had started an ESL training programme at Boston University in 1962, when the Hispanic population suddenly spurted, began to work with the city's Schools Department, expanding his activities into teacher training and materials production. A Title I grant in 1967 furthered this expansion providing modules of ESL in nine schools in the inner city neighbourhood, and in 1969 Boston began hiring ESL teachers from its own budget. One of them was Maria Kline, newly arrived in Boston with a Bachelor's degree in English, and living in the South End, not far from Alex Rodriguez.

But in the mid-sixties, although the bulk of Hispanics in the city were migrant Puerto Ricans the response to ESL came mainly from other Latin Americans, and ESL was still the unquestioned solution. Imperceptibly but quickly the mood changed as the new community mobilised and took political shape. ESL gave way to bilingual education as the Hispanic platform forged a model for action based on the assertion of a distinct identity. This development process is not documented but if one puts together the growing evidence in the late sixties of a Hispanic community that was largely unschooled, unemployed and subject to comprehensive discrimination, add to this the arrival on the scene of sophisticated Hispanic and Anglo professionals with track records in urban problems or civil rights who brought to the stirring of local humanist protest some organisational and strategic experience, throw in the infusion of ideas and aspirations from the South-west (and from New York) and one begins to assemble an understanding of how it was that Boston was primed for the trigger of the 1968 Bilingual Act.

But one major influence on the pattern of development cannot be over-estimated - the black struggle in Boston to desegregate the schools. The lessons were there for every stigmatised minority to learn. There was a mountain to climb, and in 1965 it was made crystal clear that the mountain would be defended. Early in that year Senator Kennedy spoke for the liberal elite and the Democratic cause when he condemned de facto school segregation. In November Louise Day Hicks of South Boston replied for the working class white majority, winning her third straight election to the School committee with a massive two-thirds of the city-wide vote and a platform of unconditional resistance to desegregation. Irish South Boston High, which sent only seven per cent of its graduates on to higher education and which was in terms of plant and facilities little better off than the overcrowded and decrepit institutional slums of Roxbury, would never, it seemed, share its few microscopes with the black ghetto chiildren. The city had set its face against its nouveaux poor, in defiance of a less than robust State law calling for the dismantling of black majority enrolments, in dismissal of a show of black solidarity some months earlier led by ex-Boston University student, Martin Luther King, and in reaction against the grassroots initiative that in August had launched Operation Exodus, a brave and determined effort by middle-class black parents to force integration by busing their children to under-filled white schools. As the black/white confrontation headed inexorably towards collision the Boston Hispanics were faced with a crucial strategic option. Should they make common cause with the black desegregationists in an all-out effort to dismantle institutionalised racism, sacrificing their own few but hard-won school settlements for the bnger term benefit that would accrue to all disadvantaged minorities? Or should they seek to define, protect and advance their own interest, thus committing themselves to an anti-integrationist stance? Elsewhere, in the American South-West, Hispanic communities were pursuing the first course, exploiting the rational connection between civil rights and bilingualism in alliance with black organisations. In Denver the Keyes decision of the Supreme Court extended Brown to include other minorities. But in Boston, perhaps unwisely but certainly understandably, the Hispanics chose the narrower sectarian path, disassociating their cause from the general quest for racial justice through desegregation. It must have seemed like a good idea at the time, to emphasise the distinctive structure of their educational problem, to prevent their needs as a multi-racial, multi-class, linguistic community from being swamped by the

bipolarity that increasingly characterised public debate about educational options. It seemed to the Hispanics that to make common cause with their fellow-victims of discrimination would not only have entailed the risk of sharing the fate of America's seemingly permanent lower order and of drawing upon themselves the full glare of a fearful and sometimes blindly reactive majority, it would also have meant a confusion of issues and a possible conflict of solutions. Desegregation, in the context of a sharpening allegiance to the notion of bilingual schooling, posed more of a threat than an answer to the problems of Spanish speaking children in English speaking institutions. But the strategy left a lot of fences to mend, and a lingering residue of acrimony between the two communities.

So the Hispanic community chose to plough its own furrow on the issues of language and culture, to maintain its distances from other economically trapped communities while working hard on its own internal unity, a unity made problematic by differences of national origin, race composition and class antagonisms. Of course, it did make common cause with other linguistic minorities, by necessity, although it was the largest, the first to organise, and remained the undisputed leader in the bilingual movement.

In the late sixties and early seventies the pace of developments affecting the Hispanic community in Massachusetts was increadibly fast and complex. It was a period of sustained excitement for those who, at different levels of the social system, layed siege to the status quo in an effort to secure a response to Boston's changing population and to the entrenched injustice of its protectionist traditions. It was a period of liberalising civil rights legislation on Beacon Hill (culminating for the linguistic minorities in the nation's first mandatory bilingual act) a rash of State laws that angered and antagonised the city's white citizenry, already frightened by the black threat to their stable security, their modest neighbourhoods, modest schools, modest jobs, and alienated beyond reasonableness by the moralising postures of those whose wealth and mobility ensured that they would be spared the consequences of compassion. There were to be no metropolitan solutions to the problems dramatically exposed in 1967 by the publication of Kozol's "Death at an early age", no integration across the income range. It was the have littles who would integrate with the have nothings to save the blushes of the suburbanites and satisfy the demands of the minority representatives in the State House like Melvin King,

the black Democrat from Roxbury whose 1965 candidacy for the Boston School Committee had fallen prey to the majoritarian hegemony of local elections.

As we read and come to understand the story of the Hispanic community's enterprise during this period, it is essential to keep in mind that the keepers of the public purse and the makers of law and policy had their attention firmly fixed elsewhere. The language issue was a minor matter dwarfed by the fact that the black civil rights movement had encamped in the North and had to be resolved. This provided the Hispanics with both a climate and a cover under which they could, and did, make almost unnoticed inroads into the system. Until 1972 that is, when Federal District Court Judge Arthur Garrity opened the envelope marked Tallulah Morgan et al, plaintiffs versus James Hennigen et al, defendants. The NAACP had taken segregation issue to the highest court and from that point on the fate of the Hispanic beachhead was inextricably bound up with the fate of the black continental Americans.

In 1968 came the Bilingual Education Act in Washington, followed soon after by the Request for Proposals. This was picked up in Boston by the then director of the Cooper Community Centre, Alex Rodriguez, a Puerto Rican incomer from New York with a nose for the spoor of federal funds. That summer, in the context of growing concern about the Spanish speaking population of Boston, he and a Cuban, Armando Martinez, had run the first of two highly successful Latin American Summer Schools in the South End with Title I money. Together with other frontrunners in the nascent Hispanic cause they approached one of the 18 strong cohort of ESL teachers in the city, Martha Hass, and persuaded her to write a Title VII proposal through the School Department, the required channel for applications.

From that point of departure bilingual settlements made their appearance in the public schools, joining and quickly gaining ascendancy over the expanding ESL programme. Title VII provided the initial seed money for a five-year project to "service native English and native Spanish speakers so as to educate them bilingually and biculturally". In 1969 when it began it had 120 first graders in six classes in the South End, blacks and Puerto Ricans largely, in equal numbers. Most of the teachers were ex-Peace Corps Anglos who had picked up Spanish as a second language. It was a

small beginning, clearly inadequate, and even before it was launched the community leaders were lobbying the School Department for further initiatives as well as mobilising support for a State level breakthrough. Agency reports and official surveys, including one from the Mayor's office, were signalling the emergency and providing statistical ammunition for the protest pioneers like South Boston's Sister Francis Georgia, a Franciscan nun who had watched with horror the deepening plight of the Hispanics and who now used all her charismatic authority in an effort to shame a procrastinating Irish School committee into supporting three bilingual clusters in the inner city. This lobbying of the Committee intensified through 1969 until, in November a favourable decision was belatedly extracted. Within two months of that decision the three clusters, one elmentary, one middle, and one high school, opened their doors for business in the South End and North Dorchester.

Those two months constituted a high point in the history of grassroots participation in educational provision. The Hispanic leaders, now calling themselves the Spanish Educational Council, did not wait for the wheels of bureaucracy to grind out implementation. With the willing assent of the Committee they found unused locations for the clusters, scrounged the furnishings wherever they could find them, advertised, screened and selected the teachers. It was an unprecedented act of community control in a highly bureaucratised system, and it reached its symbolic peak when the parents of the elementary cluster, located after several false starts in a school annexe in Columbia Road, voted for the name of "their" school. The "school" building had once housed a prosperous automobile showroom in the days when it was a white middle class neighbourhood, but now the parents affirmed its change of identity by calling it after a Puerto Rican artist, Rafael Hernandez. In overall charge of the three clusters was one Puerto Rican, Carmen Necheles, in charge of the Hernandez another, Nilda Cruz. It was a de facto segregated school for Puerto Rican children, and for most of them it was their first experience of schooling. Spanish was the medium for content subjects, with English taught as a foreign language. Those were heady days, full of hope and potency.

The situation was not one that officialdom could leave for long at the mercy of such mushrooming adhocery. For one thing other linguistic minorities (Portuguese, Italian, Greek, Chinese, Haitian French, and Russian)

now sought to emulate the Hispanic effort, and began to inundate the Council with requests for advice and assistance and to pressurise the Court Street offices of the School committee. The response of the Committee was to inaugurate in August 1970 a Department of Bilingual Education, located initially in the South End with a Portuguese Director, Jerry Botelho, and a small staff of consultant teachers to coordinate the prolifering ESL and bilingual programmes, already at that point employing nearly one hundred teachers. No teacher training was provided under the initial Title VII regulations. Since 1968, when officials of the State Department of Education with the active support of Commissioner Sullivan began to collaborate with Hispanic leaders in promoting a bilingual solution, Ernie Mazzone, a local Italian, had been administering a teacher training programme for non-degree holding aspirants that within three years yielded 120, mostly Hispanic, teachers and aides.

The setting up of the Department of Bilingual Education was the Committee's response to the social pressure and to the educational need. The response of the Hispanic community, both to the modesty of their own attainments and to the infeasibility of assisting other groups to adopt their laborious and demanding strategies, was to press for State legislative change through the liberal caucus lobby on Beacon Hill.

The first bilingual education bill appeared before the end of 1970, but it was too flaccid to satisfy a community that was now well led, articulate and confident about what it would settle for. There was no provision for community participation, inadequate representation of minorities on the proposed advisory committee, and above all there was no money. The bill was condemned by the Spanish Education Council (renamed the Spanish Federation in recognition of its expanding constituency) which reacted by renewing its efforts to marshall support and widening its base to encompass a state network of allegiance, including eventually the Boston School Committee itself, galvanised from its apathy by the threat from HEW of Title VII disinheritance. The Massachusetts Coalition for Bilingual Education was formed, quickly gathered momentum, and on February 4, 1971 Chapter 71A, the Transitional Bilingual Education Bill, became law.

The new law mandated full-time bilingual instruction in any district where there were twenty or more limited English speakers. It also provided for parental participation, teacher certification, examinations for

mainstreaming, a nd an annual State census to check compliance. More than that, the State would reimburse the districts for the additional costs of providing bilingual education, appropriating for the first year (1972-3) one million dollars, two and a half millions for each of the following two years, and four million dollars thereafter. The State set up a Bureau of Transitional Bilingual Education under Ernie Mazzone to oversee implementation and to provide support services.

The bilingual ship was thus truly launched and those citizens like Rodriguez and Georgia who had carried the battle with unrelieved commitment to every forum in the system could, for a short time, take a breather. Both went on to State appointments, Rodriguez to the Commission Against Discrimination Sister Francis to the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity as the linguistic minority advocate, where she shared with Mazzone responsibility for oversight of district compliance with the new law. Both were appointed to the advisory council which was set up in December 1971, and were influential in framing the regulations that throughout the seventies emanated from Mazzone's Bureau to guide and control bilingual practice.

It seems worthwhile to pause at this point and to ask why bilingual legislation was achieved so quickly, and relatively painlessly, in Massachusetts. Rodriguez, who was closely involved behind the scenes at each stage of the assault on Beacon Hill, pinpoints three factors. The first one is consistent with the scenario of civil rights issues I have already tried to portray. "The people who fought for bilingual were the same people who fought for special education, for sex equalisation and all the other civil rights bills that were passed in the late sixties and early seventies. They weren't seen as education bills, not one of them talked about a pedagogy but as civil rights bills." The second factor was cost and problem size. "It was manageable. What's a few million in a billion dollar budget? The number of ethnics who needed bilingual services was small, unlike Texas or Miami. The attitude was, 'Give them a programme, so what?'" The third factor, in Rodriguez view, was the emotional appeal to an assembly of "bleached out" ethnics. "Isn't it a goddam shame that you can't talk to your own grandmother? That always seems to get everybody. All you had to do was to hold people still and make them listen." Alex, it seems, had shrewdly judged the price of grannies in a buyer's market.

It seems fair to add that the leadership of the grassroots movement embraced a potent mix of crusading zervour and sophisticated political skills; not always comfortably. But both the torch and the briefcase were necessary; each had the capability to activate different nerve ends of the controlling institutions. At the risk of stereotyping individuals and polarising their differences, it is worth noting some of the compositional tensions that are both a strength and a weakness of social movements which require for success both a broad participatory base and a bullet-like unity of purpose and aim. Leadership of the Hispanic community both prior to the legislative breakthrough and in the turbulent decade that followed was never, despite the infrequency of public conflict, free from the threat of fragmentation. How could it be otherwise in a movement of such multi-facetted heterogeneity? The individuals who spearheaded the thrust, some from the streets of Boston and others from within its ramparts, brought to that campaign different life experiences, different structures of indignation, different perceptions of opportunity, perhaps above all different forms of knowledge of the culture of Hispanic poverty. Not all were Hispanic let alone Puerto Rican, not all were middle-class, not all had personally suffered poverty or failure. Maria Brisk, who came to Boston in 1973 and was instrumental in legitimising bilingual education as well as professionalising its expanding teacher corps, was a white upper class Argentinian Hispanic who could trace her family back four hundred years. Alex Rodriguez was a sophisticated urbanite who had escaped from the ghettoes of New York by virtue of his intellectual gifts but who did not forget his father's death of knife wounds in the back streets of his childhood, or that he had sworn to his parents at the age of seven that he would never again speak a word of Spanish. But even Alex had to relearn Spanish and renew acquaintance with those streets to cement his credibiity with community leaders like Carmen Pola (I am not of course suggesting that this was his purpose) who as a youngster had worked side by side with her highly educated mother in the fruit fields of California for 12 cents a box and shared with nine other workers there the squalor of an unlit wooden shack. Carmen also came to Boston in 1973 but to Mission Hill where daily contact with the social pathology of a belittled and bewildered Puerto Rican settlement reconfirmed her experience and rekindled her impulse to action. These were different individuals, different from each other, different again from Maria Kline, who at the age of fourteen emigrated alone, without family or friends, from the womb

of a post-Castro rural Cuban community to a new world where no-one spoke her language. And different again from the Anglo/Bostonians who took up the cause, the ex Peace Corps veterans from South America whose prominence in the ESL phase of the movement receded as Hispanic credentials assumed greater importance (some describe the change as a "freezing out") and local Catholic figures like Sister Francis and Virginia Dunn, who in the mid-sixties discovered a mission on their own doorstep. Virginia recalls the day in 1965 when, flying a kite with her pupils in the yard of a South Boston school she noticed a boy of about nine years standing outside the yard looking in. Everything about the child was a rarity in South Boston. He was puny, he was brown-skinned, he had no teeth, and he could speak no English. Within a short time she and Sister Francis had made contact with the small community of Hispanics that was moving into the slum area of South Boston, persuaded them to move into a housing project in the district and brought their children into Virginia's classroom, referred to thereafter by the principal as the "zoo". But within five years all those families had been burned out and stoned out of South Boston and their homes looted by white racists.

All these were activists who gave the bilingual movement its cutting edge; they were much more diverse than those whom they sought to represent, in origins, in experience, in life-styles, in skills and in values. It is hardly surprising that from time to time their unity should be assailed by doubts and suspicions about who was truly representing the interests of a poor, mainly Puerto Rican constituency and who their own visions or their own futures.

And, as we go on from this point in the story to recount developments in the post-legislative phase we should keep in mind how governments respond to spontaneous social movements which it can no longer safely ignore. Typically the response has three stages. All three are calculated to be divisive in their impact on a movement, and all happened in the case we are considering. The first is investment, the second containment, and the third is assimilation. Investment releases resources to deal with the problem, to provide relief, and as such is of course quite properly received as a breakthrough in the struggle. The initial effect is to unite the movement and to energise sometimes flagging spirits. But the great irony of investment to solve the problems of the poor is that it creates employment not for the poor but for the middle-class professionals who will service

them. Unless the investment is massive it simply generates a new bureaucratic order of under-resourced agencies. The issue of whether to regard such a phenomenon as a necessary stage in social transformation or as an appeasing palliative is one that is certain to drive a wedge between those who take different views of the process of political change, and between those who have different thresholds of urgency.

Containment reinforces this effect. Investment must be kept within 'reason', the problem isolated from other related problems which have not yet marshalled irrestible support, the numbers to be served restricted to parsimonious interpretations of eligibility. This is a phenomenon of rule-bound bureaucracies anxious to reconcile their own expanding economic sector with civic alarm at burgeoning welfare expenditures. It generates the numbers game, the census undercounts and overcounts that feed cynicism on both sides of the sandbags. And its effect on the movement is to divide those whom investment has drawn into the administration from those who, from lack of opportunity or out of ideological conviction, continue to prosecute their cause from outside.

Containment is a form of control, but sufficiently distinct to warrant separation from the means by which the system, once activated by investment and satisfied by operational boundaries, attempts to assimilate a new sector of activity which could otherwise acquire dangerous tendencies towards autonomous action. The answer, from the point of view of the administration, is co-optation through bureaucratisation. Co-optation takes place initially through an extension of the policymaking and administrative franchise to those individuals and groups demanding recognition and participation. This form of annexation has its obvious dangers, but these are minimised in the early phase by the established bureaucracy's advantage in experience and skills and in the later phase by the bonding effect of an increasingly shared perception of the problems of delivering effective services. In this way many of those who set out to dismantle or transform the system become a source of strength and maintenance to the status quo; they are recognised, legitimated, resourced and trained, but they are at the same time inducted, acculturated, frustrated and eventually integrated into an executive structure of accountability that increasingly resumes its monolithic form.

The effectof co-optation on social movements is divisive and debilitating, restricting when it does not remove the leadership and restoring class differences and antagonisms that were temporarily suspended under the banner of concerted action.

These features of social system behaviour and their effects are not here conceived as the successful outcomes of conspiratorial and cynical intent. The collusive capability of complex social organisations, even those of an intensively hierarchical nature, is at best meagre, and the effects I have schematised are not untypically a source of perplexing dismay to those whose initiatives have helped bring them about. These responses are better understood as functional properties of institutions. (How often do we board trolley cars in the hope of going places they've never been!) The point is, although I am in danger of overstating it, that neither changes of heart nor changes of personnel alone can radicalise the petrified mechanisms of obsolete assumptions. Respect for its institutions is the fatal error of many who seek to transform a society, yet such respect is usually the price exacted by society for agreeing to mend its ways.

But I am not about to embark upon an exploration of disunity in the Boston bilingual movement, far less to suggest its dissolution in the suffocating embrace of administrative imperialism. The balance of the evidence in fact tilts the other way. The Hispanic movement grew throughout the seventies, despite a succession of severe setbacks, and is growing still. It responded to threats to its unity and resisted fragmentation, although it was not and is not without its factions. But there is a danger in biographic narrative accounts of the form adopted here - a tendency for particularised and personalised social histories to promote over-particularised and over-personalised interpretations of the flow of events. Of course it is true that individuals exercise significant options within the latitudes defined by situational constraints and opportunities that are idiosyncratic in profile; that is the point of choosing to write such a history. But it is also true that the course of events is shaped by long-forgotten, long-dead social engineers whose options have hardened into our habits of mind as well as our icons; we are haunted by legacies we little understand, more innocent than we know. And that is the point of trying to construct a multiple perspective and a historical perspective upon a contemporary institution like the Rafael Hernandez school.

Let us now return to the point in the narrative at which we broke off. With the passing of the Transitional Bilingual Education Act the bilingual movement, and the Hispanic sector in particular, entered a period of rapid expansion under the beleaguered direction of the City's new Department, which was rapidly overwhelmed with demands from the various eligible communties for locations, materials, teachers and guidance. Once the State Bureau got going in April 1972 Botelho and his successors were constantly on the phone to Ernie Mazzone seeking the regulatory guidelines that were under development by the State advisory committee with the assistance of Harvard lawyers. Many of the regular school principals were resistant to the new requirement, satisfied with ESL and flustered by the pace of a large unplanned innovation. There were models of a kind in the prototype Title VII and cluster projects, but they had captured virtually the whole pool of available and qualified expertise and had not been systematically studied with a view to replication. And they were of course exclusively Spanish bilingual, and fully preoccupied, in the absence of specialised materials and supervision, with their own problems of operationalising an unfamiliar remit.

The problem was acknowledged by the Boston School committee, which in May 1971 set up an Implementation committee, with Alex Rodriguez and Sister Francis Georgia prominent among its membership. They made recommendations to the Department of Bilingual Education, and helped it rethink its role in view of both the proliferation and differentiation of programmes, and the need to think in terms of institutional integration instead of isolated clusters.

The Department in three years expanded its staff to 167, its budget to two million dollars. It changed the role of its consultant teachers to supervisors, hired guidance counsellors to assist individual children, community coordinators to help parents, and developed a mental health programme for exceptional children. At the same time it was trying to plan programmes and develop the census procedures now required by the Massachusetts law. But more than any of these the need was for trained teachers. Ernie Mazzone's efforts in this direction had yielded 120 teachers, mainly Hispanics, by 1971, but this came nowhere near to meeting the need. Nor did the programme of in-service training launched in 1971 by the Department in collaboration with the newly formed Institute of Learning and Teaching

at the University of Massachusetts. This training, which continued until 1974, was certainly helpful, particularly to Hispanic teachers, since it made frequent use of the pilot experience, drawing heavily upon the staff of the Rafael Hernandez. But it remains true of the period, as those who lived through it recall with the wry amusement that time sometimes confers upon the reconstruction of bitter experience, "anyone who could say 'Buenos dias' was offered a job as a bilingual teacher." And the schools continued to offer a minimal response to the innovation.

At the end of the first full year of implementation a formal evaluation of compliance (conducted by Ernie Mazzone and Sister Francis Georgia in discharge of their new resonsibility for oversight) found Boston in non-compliance, mainly due to the Department's apparent powerlessness to overcome school resistance. Many bilingual groups had been relegated to the corridors, corners, closets and basements of their host institutions and left to get on with their own devices. They were understaffed, with an average teacher pupil ratio of 19 to 1 instead of the 15 to 1 maximum mandated by law. And most of the teachers had no aides, the provision of whom allowed the legal maximum to rise to twenty pupils. The evaluation called upon the Superintendent to take action, and the Department set up workshops for school administrators in an effort to change attitudes. Little improvement was noted in October 1973 when a follow-up evaluation was conducted. There was to be no formal evaluation of the 1974-75 year, the first year of desegregation, but at the end of 1976 the state evaluators found themselves reviewing a scene of court-ordered devastation following a catastrophic botch-up of student assignments. Large numbers of bilingual students had been re-assigned by the School Department's Office of Implementation at the insistence of federal court experts, to correct a widespread evasion by parents of community district schools. The re-assignment was disruptive in itself but its impact when compounded by administrative incompetence was universal dismay. Ernie Mazzone, who had chosen not to directly monitor the vital assignment process, said, "This puts bilingual education back three steps, where it was three years ago."

We shall come to the desegration saga shortly, but we should not close the chapter on the early seventies without announcing the arrival in Boston of two people who were quickly to come to prominence in bilingual circles and who would occupy significant roles when the converging paths of black

civil rights and bilingual education approached the point of intersection.

Robert Dentler arrived in 1972 from New York as Dean of Education in Boston University, one of the city's many private institutions of higher education. He was an urban planner and developer, a sociologist of revisionist persuasion and an arch-desegregationist committed to the extension of civil rights. In New York he had directed a regional education laboratory. As early as 1964 he had initiated New York's first experiments in bilingual education, which he regarded as "a plausible vehicle" for the extension of civil rights to Hispanics. Now in Boston somehow persuaded that Boston University sought a vanguard role in the transformation of urban universities into urban service centres, this son of a German immigrant and ex-English teacher was quick to obtain Teacher Corps support for a pilot programme for inner city Hispanic students. And in 1974, only months before his appointment by Judge Garrity as court expert in the desegregation case, he recruited Maria Brisk to the staff of the Teacher Corps programme.

Maria Brisk moved to Boston in 1973 from Washington where, at the Centre for Applied Linguistics, she completed a survey of bilingual education programmes, of which there were already close on four hundred nationally in more than thirty languages. In Boston, remarkably, she took a job in simmering Roxbury, at the community College just across the road from Alianza Hispana, one of a number of minority service agencies opened in the early 1970s in response to the revelations of need that characterised the late sixties. Roxbury at this time was as black as South Boston was white. Racial tension was high, it was considered to be a dangerous locality for whites to venture into. Three weeks after she began work, the only Hispanic in a predominantly black staff, a white woman was murdered on the doorstep of the College. Maria, a fair complexioned Argentinian dared not tell her husband where exactly she was employed, but continued to service and support the Hispanic students at the non-graduate college, encouraging as many as could complete their education at Boston University, where her efforts (she was working 70 to 80 hours a week) soon caught the attention of the new dean, Dentler, dissatisfied with the quality of his Teacher Corps project. Maria moved, but she had been outraged by her experience in Roxbury, by the conditions of Boston's poor minorities, by the ugly cancer of attitudes that infested every section of the community

and made her physically sick after every staff meeting. Temperamentally rebellious (as a child she had more than once been removed from school for her own safety for writing anti-Peronista slogans), deeply indignant as a Hispanic by the rampant chauvinism that defined a distinguished language and culture as a handicap, appalled as an educationist by the system's failure to exploit the child's natural resources in promoting his learning, she was ripe for recruitment to the Boston bilingual movement, then struggling to convert legislation into effective implementation.

Teacher training was the prime need. In 1974 Boston's Title VII grant was due to expire after five years of supporting the first bilingual classes for elementary age Hispanics. A new proposal was in preparation, and with the advent of a Title VII amendment introduced by Senator Kennedy, federal resources for teacher training were now available. Maria Kline who had joined the Department of Bilingual Education as a consultant teacher in 1972, was involved in the preparation of the proposal, and became director of the new Title VII. Federal provision being restricted to supplementing State provision, the new proposal sought three new programmes to strengthen the stuttering extension of bilingual education into the secondary schools - one in college preparation, one in career education, and one, located in the Mayor's office under Rafael de Gruttola, in theatre arts. De Gruttola, a local Italian who had been a foreign language teacher throughout the sixties before joining the Department, would later become its first permanent Director.

The two Marias met, and together developed the teacher training element in the proposal. It was to provide Bachelor qualification for bilingual aides and Masters for bilingual teachers. It covered Cambridge and Chelsea as well as Boston, and thus provided Boston University Bilingual Programme, and Maria Brisk, with the basis of an increasingly statewide responsibility. By 1980 she was a tenured associate professor with an untenured staff of five on yearly contracts, with sixty undergraduates, fifty Masters and thirty-three doctoral students. She was busy, her fragile expansion periodically threatened by institutional recoil from the growing threat of status contamination posed by minority advance into higher education. By that time Dentler, disillusioned of the possibility that Boston's elitist academies might be persuaded to make good their libertatian rhetoric, and disgusted by a public attack on bilingual education delivered

by his own university president (an attack that brought bewildered phone calls from the Title VII administrators in Washington) had left for a research post with Abt Associates in Cambridge.

One more piece completes this section of the jigsaw, and takes us back to events prior to bilingual involvement in the segregation case. One evening in January 1975 Maria Brisk was at home in suburban Newton when she got a phone call from a stranger who turned out to be a Hispanic teacher aide. Would she come to a meeting? They had heard she was someone who might be able to help them. Maria went and was confronted for two hours by a seventy strong crowd of Hispanic bilingual aides, angry and desperate women demanding professional education, pleading for help. Their distress and frustration left an enduring imprint on Maria, who was already critical of the discriminatory effect of a teacher credentialling system that rejected as underqualified, experience and qualified Puerto Rican teachers, then used them as cheap professional labour. The upgrading of aides became a priority concern calling for the extension of in-service opportunities.

Let us now revisit the black civil rights issue and try to weave it through the post mandatory decade of bilingual education in Boston. And let us remember, as we pick up the thread at the turn of the decade, that the backcloth was a city in deepening financial trouble from economic decline, middle class flight, and rising costs, a city whose neglected public schools were both changing and losing enrolment as more and more of those who could, left the city and of those who could not transferred their children to the extensive private sector of parochial schools established generations before by the oppressed Catholics to escape Yankee ideology. In the space of fifteen years, from 1965 to 1980 enrolment in the Boston public school system was to decline from 93,000 to 68,000. In the same period the total budget of Massachusetts state would increase by 1,000 per cent and USA's total expenditure on education from all public sources grow to nearly one hundred billion dollars. Social justice was to become an increasingly expensive and unpopular commodity throughout the seventies. By the end of the decade the kind of liberalism that was negotiable political currency in the sixties would become an endangered species. In 1980 South Boston would finally hear a Kennedy speak for their interests rather than appeal to their values. Nationally there would be fear at some levels and frustration at others as the inexorable logic of

free enterprise reached a point where the country's wealth and its economic ideology, so long secured by the dominance of America in the world market, became clearly vulnerable to changing market conditions and the mobile greed of international corporatism.

By 1971 the locomotive of black civil rights in Boston was at a standstill but overheating and threatening to explode. If somebody didn't do something to call the bluff of the School Committee, which for six years had defied the Racial Imbalance Law, the NAACP would once more take to the streets and the beaches. (Carson Beach was the name of a stretch of South Boston waterfront, that had witnessed one of the first major demostrations of black community protest in the previous decade). By this time the black leadership had evolved, changed and become more differentiated. Some,like Mel King, were acquiring clout in the legislature while others, like James ("Boomboom") Breeden, who had exhausted in the late sixties the possibility of progress through community power politics were becoming professionalised in the graduate schools of Harvard.

But now, at last, muscle was about to replace exhortation. The Commissioner of Education, Sullivan, appointed in 1968 on a widely publicised promisory note to bring Boston into line, got his Board of Education to demand complete elimination of imbalance by 1973-74. The muscle took the form of withholding twenty-one million dollars in State aid, subsequently bid up to fifty-two million, a vice that became a fiscal pincer when in June 1972 HEW gave Boston similar notice, thus adding a further ten million dollars to the ransom for the city's blacks. The traditional autonomy of local education policy was stripped of its borrowed clothing, and the financial threat galvanised the 'neutral' mayor into action. Mayor White, a deft politician with an unrivalled ability to find Switzerland in time of war, now pressed his School committee into a series of conciliatory initiatives and commitments, including some interim alteration of the race-determined district lines while a master-plan was developed, and the opening of a model 'balanced' school. In the meantime they could, and did, use the breathing space to appeal the demands through the State judiciary. Appeals and counter appeals characterised the period from 1971 to 1973, culminating in State Supreme Court-ordered quasi-judicial hearings under Harvard professor of law Louis Jaffe, assisted by Boston's new dean of education Robert Dentler, a desegregationist with a veteran's

experience. The Jaffe Report of May 1973 recommended a modified integration plan, with exemption for South Boston on the grounds of its extreme hostility to blacks. But the Board of Education insisted on South Boston's inclusion, the plan was approved by the State Supreme Court and the Boston School Committee ordered to implement it by September 1974.

Long before this process was complete, however, the arena of enforceable decision on the issue had shifted to the chambers of Arthur Garrity, who spent 1973 pondering his options. Federal law took precedence over State law, and once the NAACP, exasperated by the interminable tug-of-war between city and state and dissatisfied in any case with the weak compromises of the Racial Imbalance Law, filed a class action suit against the Boston School Committee and the State Board of Education (constitutionally responsible for education) the ball was irrevocably in Garrity's court.

Nevertheless Garrity, neither by taste nor by habit a natural fellow-traveller of the judiciary radicals whose sorties into American civic life were already commanding close attention, had more than a spectator's interest in the outcome of the local conflict. He was anxious to emerge with a remedy that would have sufficient backing at all levels of the community to succeed. In 1974, a year after finding the newly elected Boston School Committee guilty of deliberately operating a dual system by redrawing district lines, and in response to the abdication by the Committee of their legal responsibility to fashion an acceptable remedy, he swung into action with Phase I of a two-year plan to desegregate the schools. Taking the State Temporary Plan as the only available model at that time but not necessarily the best of all time he bought some breathing space for the court by ordering partial integration of two neighbourhoods in 74-75 while he considered the Phase 2 master plan. Determined to make crystal clear from the outset the constitutional integrity of the remedy Garrity ordered black Roxbury High (900 students) and white South Boston High (1800 students) to be desegregated to the extent that each school would match the distribution of blacks and whites in the combined enrolment. Buses would be provided by the city to transport the requisite proportion of white students and white teachers each day to the slum schools of Roxbury. On the way they would pass another fleet of buses carrying the requisite proportion of black students and black teachers to

the 'no-go' heartland of white racism. Garrity's ruling of June 1974 stunned the citizenry of Boston, enraged the lower income working class white ethnics and threatened to split the black community, whose leadership had to rally frightened parents behind the Phase I order. And Hispanics trembled in the wings.

On September 12, 1974 the first fleet of buses from Roxbury, filled with frightened but resolute black children and escorted by apprenhensive and irresolute Irish policemen, ran the Southie blockade in a hail of broken glass and venomous intimidation, inaugurating a winter of unprecedented civic disorder in which authoritative leadership was monopolised by the back street extremists. It was a major test of the policy and it exposed the vulnerability of representative government to violent eruptions of popular ill-will. Mayor White vacillated (a form of political initiative that was subsequently honoured by a Doctorate in Political Science), Governor Sergeant funked the issue by declaring himself for voluntary busing, while President Ford sealed the vacuum of civilised leadership by publicly criticising the Garrity plan. For a while it looked as if ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) a Hicks-inspired ad hoc coalition of militant white opposition, encouraged by the recalcitrance of school officials and Committee members, the ambivalent timidity of the Boston Teachers Union and the catatonic trance which seemed to have immobilised both secular and religious leaders alike, might actually succeed in discrediting due process and frustrate the apparatus of implementation. The restoration of orderly governance was slow; the Governor retracted, the President retracted, moderates and liberal mobilised behind the reforms, and the tension began to ease. The electoral successes of the white extremists a decade before were not to be repeated in 1975, when the anonymity of the ballot box revealed public recoil from the politics of violent dissent. Two members of the School Committee who had openly supported the efforts of ROAR to sabotage the Court order were dumped from office.

Throughout the winter of '74 while the battle raged in the streets and meeting places of the city, one middle aged, middle class commuter, a tall bespectacled man with no taste for turmoil, made his way each day from a quiet residential exurb to his chambers in Post Office Square. Arthur Garrity was getting on with the task of midwifing Phase 2, the permanent city-wide remedy. Phase I was but a holding operation, integrating some

schools in accordance with the universally criticised but convenient Racial Imbalance Law. Phase 2 would have to fully eliminate the violations he had cited in his 1973 ruling. And, although the Court was formally enjoined to disregard "public clamour", there could be no doubt that Garrity's pronounced distaste for interventionism, a distaste which explained his passive acceptance of ROAR's disruption of the parent councils set up to facilitate and monitor Phase I integration, would ensure that social acceptability figured in the planning.

By December Garrity had concluded that the Boston School Committee was not going to produce a constitutionally acceptable remedy which, as defendants, they were required to do, and that he was going to have to produce his own plan. Under advice from the federal Justice Department, which kept tabs on the availability and location of individuals with experience of desegregation planning, he phoned Dentler and asked him to be a Master of the hearings he proposed to hold as an input to the planning process. Dentler preferred, and got, an appointment as one of two Court experts (the second was black academic Marvin Scott) in a team of seven, including four Masters and a special clerk. Dentler and Scott would be, as Dentler put it, the "gumshoes of the Court", working behind the scenes, liaising with the judge about the progress of the Masters. Dentler's special role, as he saw it, was to factor in other minorities, to widen the frame of reference of the Court at every juncture. This meant in essence, to take account of the expanding bilingual programme and its Hispanic flagship, the Rafael Hernandez School.

By this time, in any case, Boston's Hispanic activists had decided to face the desegregation threat head-on. Horrified by the imminent dispersal of their children on a blind and meaningless criterion (pigmentation) they formed El Comite Pro La Defensa De La Educacion Bilingue and entered the suit as plaintiff/interveners on behalf of Hispanic parents.

Throughout February and March, '75, when the hearings took place, the bilingual interest, forcefully canvassed by Dentler behind the scenes, skillfully advocated by the well-briefed lawyers of El Comite, and noisily represented in the courthouse by an ever-present assembly of Hispanic citizens, gradually assumed the status of a critical factor in the minds of the Phase 2 planners. Not of course a prior concern - in a desegregation

suit the fate of linguistic minorities had to be a secondary consideration, but critical in the sense that a satisfactory resolution of the bilingual problem became a key element in the Court's efforts to develop a comprehensive plan that would unify, rather than further divide, a fragmented city.

El Comite, and its array of advisers, allies, expert witnesses, and technical support staff, made strange company, prone to internal rifts. When Alex Rodriguez, the undisputed leader of the professional wing of the movement, attempted to represent the Hispanic interest to the Court he was successfully challenged by a voice from the crowded public gallery. Not that of Daisy Diaz or Natividad Pagán, whose initiative had led to the formation of the Committee. It was a newcomer to the front line, champion of the Mission Hill residents, Carmen Pola, an ex-Californian populist who was about to ride the tide of mandatory parent power and make life uncomfortable for friend and foe alike. "A leader is not a leader when he gets a 20,000 dollar a year job, comes to an office at 9 o'clock in the morning, go home at 4, have a nice steak dinner, put on the TV, and go to sleep at 10." Not, as Carmen now acknowledges, a fair description of Alex's untiring efforts over many years to advance the Hispanic cause but a typical example of the Puerto Rican 'outlaw's' vituperative style of dissent from the lobby and backroom politics of the middle class virtuoso. Twenty years of passionate embroilment in the cause of the poor (and not just of the Hispanic poor either) had done little to alter Carmen's view that, with rare individual exemptions, the United States was composed of three classes - those on the take, those on the make, and those on the welfare. And it was upon this last group, politically enfranchised by a succession of state and federal codicils designed to secure client oversight of their social service investments, that Carmen was to build her power base in the post-federal phase of bilingual school in Boston. "It's the numbers game ..... the professionals tend to isolate themselves ..... I know where to go to get the numbers out." An ability to get the numbers out was to prove crucial at key junctures in the late seventies. Meantime, in Garrity's courtroom Alex had to suffer the discomfiture of having his testimony suspended until El Comite resolved the issue of who was to speak for the Hispanic community. It was a minor hiccup, and one he was well equipped to take in his resilient stride, but a graphic reminder to all those concerned of

the problem of personal credibility of those who from a position of relative affluence seek to represent its casualties. Alex faced that problem and successfully passed through the eye of the needle. So did Maria Brisk. Maria Kline, whose career path to the principalship of the Rafael Hernandez left a number of competitors floundering in her wake, still attracts mistrust from community based Puerto Ricans like Carmen Pola and Liana Perez-Felix, whose interpretations of the changing countenance of the school staff lean more upon conspiracy theory than upon the forces of administrative and economic law.

Also in Court in the early months of 75 was Maria Brisk, recruited by El Comite to testify as an expert witness on the merits of bilingual education generally and the merits of the Rafael Hernandez school in particular. Recruited in February and due to testify in March Maria had to move quickly. Although she had heard about the school from her students on Dentler's programme at Boston University (many of them had children there) and from Maria Kline she had no first-hand acquaintance and had not met the teacher-in-charge, Liana Perez-Felix. A phone call later she was on her way through the familiar maze of the city's southern sprawl. The school was but five minutes away from the Community College in Roxbury where Maria had already undergone a traumatic baptism in the pathology of poverty.

Maria liked what she found inside the squat white annexe. "I was impressed, for instance, by the idea of levelling the children by linguistic competence rather than by grade, and not just by English competence, as was the usual practice, but different groupings for each language. I got the impression of a school that was dedicated to the purpose - a bilingual school, not just a bilingual programme within a school."

In Court, before the Masters, Maria set aside any reservations she may have felt about the school as a model of bilingual practice and threw her expert weight unreservedly behind its defence. "It didn't have as many problems as other programmes and it seemed to me that it had some sort of an organisation. I was really fighting for it more from the point of view that it had been the result of a lot of work from El Comite and I just didn't want them to lose the only, the one little thing they had in the education system."

With Dentler working hard off stage to sensitise the court team to the bilingual issue, Maria on stage arguing the educational needs of linguistic minorities (El Comite was assumed by Garrity, somewhat illogically, to speak for all the relevant groups) and the seasoned campaigners of the Massachusetts law bringing their considerable skills and experience to bear upon the briefing of El Comite's attorneys, significant concessions were won from the Masters, and built into the Phase 2 proposals. The Masters accepted, in the first place, that for educational purposes it did not make sense to classify linguistic minorities by race. Had they been so classified it would have been impossible to locate them in order to make bilingual provision. In the second place they accepted that some exemption from a strict ratio formula for desegregation might be necessary so that 'critical mass' (sufficient numbers in one building) would be possible.

Throughout March the outline of a comprehensive remedy took shape in the minds of the Masters, who had considered and rejected as inadequate the plans devised by both the plaintiffs and the defendants, and had heard nearly 200 witnesses. The Masters, who clearly had defusion as well as desegregation in mind, redrew the city's internal boundaries to create nine school districts and added one city-wide district composed of more than twenty magnet schools, each with its own special theme, for which parents could opt in preference to the district school. All schools would be subject to racial integration reflecting the composition of each district, with the magnet schools reflecting city-wide ratios. In addition the schools would be enriched by contractual provision of support from the city's universities and an expanded programme of aid from its business firms.

The so-called 'pairing' of Boston's elite and elitist institutions of learning with its Dickensian public schools was hard won. It was the brainchild of one of the Masters, McCormack, who was determined to exploit the academic resources of the "Athens of America". Supported by Dentler, who pointed to the precedent of Boston U. and U. Mass in bilingual education, they called together 17 presidents of the city's prestigious colleges and universities, and put the propostion to them. "The city is burning", they told them. But, with few exceptions, the presidents prevaricated. They didn't want to take over the schools, but neither did they want their

projects messed about by philistine' school administrators. The notion of a contractual arrangement for the provision of special services was mooted as a way through. A majority of the presidents still demurred. A second meeting was privately arranged at which Robert Wood, president of U. Mass but absent from the first meeting, pulled a master stroke. At the start of the meeting he offered to pair his university with the whole of District 6, the battlefield of Phase I. Then he got up and left the meeting. Resistance collapsed.* Even Harvard agreed to participate, pairing with Roxbury High, where one of its junior staff was already involved in association with U. Mass's Institute of Learning and Teaching. Boston University was paired with all the Hispanic bilingual programmes and with the Rafael Hernandez, already pencilled in as one of the magnet schools. The evolving plan now fleshing out in Garrity's chambers was also to involve the city's cultural organisations - museums, theatres, zoo, aquarium and music conservatory, through an ad hoc mechanism called the Cultural Education Collaborative which would bring into the schools cultural resources not available in the past.

The Master's plan for Phase 2, unveiled in draft form in mid-March, got a mixed reception from a citizenry still on the brink of lawlessness, still rife with rumours of plots to blow up the bridges linking the hub to South and East Boston, still seceding from the public schools at an increasing rate (public school enrolment declined by 10,000 in the first year of desegregation). The NAACP strongly opposed the plan, pointing particularly to the anomaly of East Boston, which would remain 95 per cent white. The Boston Teachers' Union opposed the plan, being particularly critical of the 'intrusion' of the universities, minority hiring of teachers, and the planned extension of citizen monitoring groups. The Boston School Committee, whilst expressing some satisfaction with the fact that the Court had adopted from them the concept of magnet schools, remained adamently hostile to forced busing ("cost, white flight, opposition"). But the plan was at least less inflammatory than many had feared, not least Mayor White, who had to find the extra 18 million dollars that busing and policing the city through Phase I had cost. Between September 12, when Phase I began, and March 21, when the Masters called a press

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* This account of Wood's role, based on the Boston Globe's Pulitzer prize winning account, is endorsed by some of my informants, disputed by others. I had no direct contact with Wood who was, understandably, too busy to see me.

conference to announce their remedy, more than 350 people had been arrested for school-related crimes. The plan, though satisfying no-one, successfully isolated militants on both sides of the issue. Boston began to simmer down.

We shall come to the specific provisions of the plan for linguistic minorities shortly. In the debate that followed the press conference, attention became sharply focussed upon Courtroom 5, where Judge Garrity, closetted with his two experts, considered the Masters' proposal and prepared his ruling. Would he concede the NAACP challenge to the constitutionality of a plan which permitted such wide variation in the degree of integration that would be achieved in each district? Would he accept the separate categorisation of minorities other than by race? How would the Rafael Hernandez fare in a city-wide district governed by strict ratio requirements, or in Dorchester, 45 per cent white?

The Masters retired from the case at the end of March. Dentler and Scott had contracts extending to June, at which point they were indefinitely extended, when it became clear that the Boston School Committee would take no responsibility for implementing Garrity's Phase 2 plan, announced in May for implementation in the fall. The Committee would only follow detailed orders. Garrity felt that he had no option but to take over the direct administration of the school system. "The judge's revulsion against that", recalls Dentler, "would be impossible to describe, but the defiance was total."

The Garrity plan differed marginally from that of the Masters. Instead of ten districts it decreed nine, thereby increasing the numbers of bused students in partial response to the NAACP critique. It endorsed the separate categorisation of linguistic minorities, and called for provision of bilingual programmes at all levels, including kindergarten (not mandated by the State bilingual law) in "desirable schools and suitable clusters". It made orders relating to minority hiring to integrate the teaching and administrative staffs of the system, and it established an extensive hierarchy of civic watch committees to monitor Phase 2 implementation, culminating in a 42 member Citywide Coordinating Council, representing all shades of opinion and chaired by Robert Wood, with James Breeden as Staff Director. It closed some schools, including the

Whittier, which housed a programme for Hispanic adolescent illiterates. Liana Perez-Felix had been in charge at the Whittier before moving to the Hernandez.

But the Hernandez won its case for exemption, at least, from strict integration criteria. Dentler - "Hernandez had to be desegregated on equity grounds alone but it had bone fide programmatic emphasis. What we said was "Let's leave as much of the Hernandez as intact as possible. We'll exempt it from the conventional guidelines, and amplify its theme so that the non-hispanic students, about one-third of the total, will go there because they want an induction into Hispanic culture". So the Hernandez symbolised the Court's willingness to compromise and evidenced Garrity's aspiration to "integration with quality education". El Comite's reaction was less than grateful. They had lost their neighbourhood school, their own Hispanic school, now redefined as a city-wide bilingual magnet. To this, and to other aspects of the Court plan for bilingual education, they responded throughout the summer with detailed alternative blueprints for bilingual provision, mostly concerned with the location of programmes, and mostly accepted without argument by the Court. But the Court would not, probably could not, budge on the fundamental imperative of desegregation for the Hernandez.

The task faced by the Court that summer was a formidable one, to produce by July the first student assignments. The available data, on district populations, school enrolments, distribution of ethnic minorities, was not only inadequate but subject to interest-based distortion by contending statisticians and speculative guesses about the numbers of children of school age not in school. Dentler and Scott, denied the active cooperation of the School Department, had to make the best estimates they could. One immediate effect was the dismantling of the existing bilingual programmes and their relocation within the new community districts.

To El Comite this represented a subordination of their interests to the black interest. Those who had struggled hardest to get the Hispanic programmes off the ground following the State act of 71 took it hard - "With help like this why doesn't the Federal Court go away?". Dentler took a different, broader and more long term view. "In fact the bilingual programme was as close to non-existent and as fraudulently distributed as

could be accomplished. This was a zone of inordinate indifference to the Boston School Committee. It was just nominally beginning its compliance with the State Bilingual Act. It was the Federal intervention that gave the State Act teeth, that made it coercive for the School Committee." Dentler saw himself as replacing an inadequate, somewhat accidental and opportunist structure with the basis of full provision for bilingual education in at least six languages.

But for the first year of Phase 2 the redistribution of bilingual students was relatively minor, and the Rafael Hernandez achieved its new composition with comparative ease ("comparative" since it was of course an immensely difficult task for all the schools and parents to come to terms with complex new arrangements launched during the summer vacation and implemented immediately thereafter). But before the year had ended it became clear to the Court that the bilingual programmes were being used for purposes that violated the desegregation intent. Linguistic minority parents in large numbers were opting for bilingual programmes in order to place their children in a walk-in neighbourhood school, an option denied to other parents who lodged strong protests with the Court. It meant they were often crossing community district boundaries, a form of flexibility permitted by the Court order but limited to bilingual and special needs students. Desegregation was threatened, and Garrity asked his experts to do something about it.

Back to the drawing board, to emerge with a complex geo-code system of student assignments that redistributed at least half of the four thousand students then in bilingual programmes. The impact was a disastrous dislocation of the system, chaos in the schools, general confusion, and a storm of protest from the Hispanic-led minorities, many of them now convinced that the Court was against them. A virtual restoration of the status quo was the Court's response for the following year, and the storm passed, leaving in its wake however a residue of mistrust, and a pervasive lack of confidence in the new as well as the old administration.

Meantime, while the schools struggled for stability in the shifting sands of administrative fiat, the Boston School Committee was preparing to take a major new initiative, suggesting a transition in style. By 1978 the Committee had exhausted the political viability of sullen withdrawal and

petty obstructionism. The wind of electoral impatience was beginning to gust, the costs of schooling compounded by inflation had pushed up property taxes to unprecendented levels. Even the mild-mannered Boston Globe, which made a virtue of its prudence, went on the attack, describing Boston as "a highly politicised system that is reactive rather than innovative, riddled with waste and patronage, and emerging from the problems of desegregation to find itself with a largely black amd minority enrolment of 72,000 and a budget of $175,000".

In April 1978 an Advisory Task Force on management restructuring of the school department recommended a new streamlined administrative organisation with one all powerful chief executive accountable to the Committee but with significantly enhanced independence of day-to-day action. This would replace the much criticised structure of largely autonomous sections which had made accountability difficult and corruption easy. The Task Force also recommended decentralisation of the huge and cumbersome central administration in order to secure more effective delivery of services to the schools.

In the summer of 1978 the School Committee surprised everyone by not only adopting the recommended changes but by breaking a 70 year old tradition in going outside its own administration for a new Superintendent. They unanimously chose Robert Wood, U. Mass President, and an educator and urbanist with a national reputation. Wood was the complete outsider, and a prestigious one, a one time Cabinet secretary during the Johnson administration. He was highly respected by Garrity,having played a proactive role in the formulation and subsequent monitoring of the desegregation plan. There could be little doubt that his appointment was designed to refurbish the tarnished image of the Committee and to hasten the relief of the administration from judicial siege.

But for the bilingual movement the advent of Wood and reorganisation was at best a mixed blessing. The Hispanic leaders had learned how to play the power politics of the old segmented system. Using a combination of personal contacts and concentrated pressure they had built their own pyramid from the ground up into the resource bank at 26 Court Street, peaking in 1977 with the appointment of Rafael de Gruttola as the first permanent Director of the Bilingual Education Department. And then, only one year

later, while they were still reeling from Dentler's mystifying permutations of the student assignment rules, the new superintendent began to systematically dismantle their headquarters. Rafael's post was to be demoted to that of Senior Adviser, his central staff decimated by dispersal to the districts in the role of bilingual coordinators. Wood, determined to create one chain of command and to give himself space on the bridge was changing the rules of the game. Now those who sought access to the higher levels of the organisation would be compelled to negotiate a series of buffers, with real decision-making power insulated at the top. In many respects the new structure resembled, in rhetoric as well as substance, the abortive system of mini City Halls introduced by Mayor White a decade earlier. On the other hand it should be noted that Wood's reorganisation was intended not only to consolidate his span of control at headquarters but to reinforce the community district offices which were part of court-ordered decentralisation. There was considerable educational, financial and organisational merit in distributing bilingual officials into district offices. But Wood neglected to pre-negotiate the plan with CPAC and El Comite leaders and this they could not forgive.

If the fifty-four year old superintendent didn't realise that his unilateral proposals amounted to a declaration of war he was soon to be made painfully aware of it. "Betrayal" screamed Carmen Pola, now a full-time co-ordinator of one of Garrity's CDACs (Community District Advisory Councils) but, more significantly, chairperson of the MasterPAC, the city-wide network of State mandated parent committees upon whose approval rested the release of State funds for bilingual education. Throughout the early months of 1979 Woods' worry beads went into overtime as Carmen led the troops of the welfare class on to the streets of Boston and bearded the mandarin in his Court Street den in scenes reminiscent of the civil rights marches of the sixties. Wood, though not unaccustomed to the politics of confrontation, was unnerved and deskilled by the physical and vocal threat of an emotional mob of mothers who were not interested in the virtues of his master plan for decentralisation, not impressed by his professions of good faith, who would not even let him speak without shouting him down. But he was nothing if not resourceful and clever. He prevaricated, he postponed implementation and, in an effort to channel minority protest into more manageable forms of representation he called upon the professional leaders (Rodriguez, Maria Brisk and Maria Kline among

them) to form a transition team to advise him on bilingual provision. If he hoped by this manoeuvre to bypass the MasterPAC he was mistaken. The MasterPAC was mandatory and fiscally crucial, and Carmen knew it. She disowned the transition team report, much to the discomfiture and annoyance of the professional wing of the movement, and Wood was forced to recognise the MasterPAC alternative, an implementation team with parental as well as professional representation. The resulting report differed little from its scorned predecessor, but that was not the issue. It had teeth, and it had been arrived at by due process.

The drain upon the energy banks of the bilingual activists was beginning to tell. They were tiring, and verging on twitch. Alex was in any case already turning his campaigning attention to other caretakers of discrimination, to the prisons and the mental hospitals that warehoused so many of the surplus Hispanic population. Maria Brisk was expanding her teacher training domain and carrying her expert witness to the far reaches of New England as more and more linguistic groups took their cause to law. Maria Kline, as we shall see, had enough to do looking after the Rafael Hernandez. Even Carmen Pola's fire was beginning to sputter. By 1980, having traded her freedom of action for the glass beads of legitimacy she would be caught in the coils of the new bureaucracy, and it would be said, "We don't hear much of Carmen these days."

Increasingly now they would all rely on the services and expertise of specialised lawyers like Alan Rom, a young Anglo ex-Peace Corps veteran who came to Boston in 1976 with some experience of representing migrant farmworkers in Connecticut on issues of equal educational opportunity. In Boston he was appointed to the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law of the Boston Bar Association, a charitable afterthought that provided legal support for poor plaintiff groups. Even before his arrival in Boston Alan had become interested in bilingual education through contact with Maria Brisk, expert witness in the Connecticut case. From 1977 through to '79 he was to become increasingly involved in the bilingual movement, and particularly with securing the "Lau Remedies", at the heart of the altercations with Wood that have just been described.

In 1977, when de Gruttola was appointed permanent director of the Bilingual Department, when bilingual provision in the schools was in a state of

chaotic fragmentation, Boston was made cognisant of the Lau remedies established by the Office of Civil Rights. This was the result of a 1974 Supreme Court decision in the Lau versus Nichols case, whereby all school districts were required to report to OCR on the types of programmes they offered to linguistic minorities. This was a requirement of inestimable import for the development of what had been missing from the bilingual dispute for ten years - a curriculum philosophy. Up to this point a decade of substantial growth of bilingual departments at both City and State level had failed to yield the needs-assessment instruments or the curriculum development projects that were so sorely needed. But Lau was inescapably about curriculum and it quickly established itself as a central issue in the battle for effective bilingual provision in Boston. The development and acceptance of a Voluntary Law Compliance Plan became a priority concern of the Hispanic leadership, and of Rom, whose legal ultimatum to Wood and the School committee in the Spring of '79 raised the spectre of the bilingual issue being taken to Garrity if the Lau requirement was not fully and promptly met.

In April '79 the new administration up to its armpits in bilingual crocodiles, capitulated to the combined forces of popular demonstration, reasoned advocacy, legal threat and fiscal muscle. Key concessions spared some of the Gruttola's central staff and structure (though not his status) pledges were given on the hiring of specialist guidance counsellors and curriculum developers, a coherent philosophy and policies on bilingual/bicultural education would be generated, and a Voluntary Lau Compliance Plan, covering the identification and language dominance assessment of minority children, appropriate placement and the design of educational programs and services, staff recruitment and training, and the monitoring and evaluation of services to bilingual children, would be developed by the implementation team.

On November 30, 1979, the Voluntary Lau Compliance Plan was accepted by the Boston School Committee. Another milestone in the bilingual movement had been passed, another era begun. And within a year of that decision, while this report was in preparation the news reached us that the battle-weary Robert Wood, increasingly at odds with his multiple constituencies, with a School Committee bent on reclaiming its "gifts" and a federal court that would not relinquish the reins of command, had been fired less than

halfway through his four year term of appointment. With fresh outbreaks of race-based tension in the Schools, Boston was back in the vortex. Carmen Pola's comment, made in the winter of 79, offered a foreshadowing epitaph. "I see the white communities screaming, I see the black communities screaming. We're all screaming at the same time. I don't know where it will end."

Dentler, characteristically, took a longer term and more optimistic view, though his critics were not slow to point out that, as a 200 dollar a day beneficiary, he could afford to. "I think we are working along a natural, social, historical course of evolution and we're at the edge of exhausting the social movement phase, where you claim you're oppressed, you seek redress, but you don't know whether that will help people grow or not. We're now at the stage where fairly adequate legitimacy is accorded, federal and state funds are pumping through, and there is a research and development resource to fuel the base of knowledge. Now comes the hard part."

"Curriculum?"

"Yes."

In the early winter of 79/80, when we first visited Boston, curriculum adhocery was a crystalling concern of the bilingual community. Liana Perez-Felix, for instance, one time teacher in charge of the Rafael Hernandez, now director of the influential minority service agency in Roxbury, Alianza Hispana. "It's a sad story. Millions of dollars wasted, and still no uniform curriculum. Every year you see groups funded to work in curriculum but they never get together and make common tools. No. Different titles, different funding, different programs, my enemy, we don't work together. Children are switched from school to school each year by desegregation, and there's no continuity after so many years." For Liana the fragmentation and instability of resource and administrative structures was one problem; another was the professionalisation of the bilingual sector, and with it the erosion of crusading humanism. "In the beginning they really cared about the children, those Anglos who started it all." But overshadowing these perceptions was Liana's conviction that at neither the State nor the federal level, let alone the local level, was there any genuine commitment to the needs of educational

linguistic minorities. The insistence on transition, on short term assimilation into Anglo culture - "It's a band aid, a few crumbs to keep you quiet."

"Will the Lau Plan change that?"

Shrug, a weary half-smile from one who had chased a lot of hopeful paper. "Perhaps."

Maria Brisk was equally scathing, if less philosophical, about the reductionist impact of the political thumbscrews. "I am sick and tired of defending the concept of bilingual education rather than looking at how we can make it better! Defending whether bilingual education is good or bad is a gross generalisation anyway. The goal should be the education of the children and you use two languages because it's amore effective way to make healthy, well adjusted citizens. I'm interested in the relative use of the two languages, how it's affecting the work of the children, and I think a lot of things are being badly done because of the political pressures."

For Dentler professionals like Maria had a key role to play in what he called the coming technical phase of bilingual education, but were presently frustrated from exploiting the opportunities "to define excellence" that the Phase 2 plan intended to provide via the mechanism of university pairings. "The School Committee offered as its arrangement for that a vending contract, the contract it uses for people who fill candy machines. "We'll call you when the machine is empty, we'll tell you if we want doughnuts or candy bars delivered." The contracts are humiliating."

But Hispanic leaders like Alex Rodriquez, whose perspective was fundamentally economic and whose strategy conceived of bilingual education as an expedient means of prising open the labour market to under-qualified Hispanics, did not share Maria's emphasis upon matching in bilingual provision the comprehensive curriculum experience available to the majority of children. Like many of the parents, and many of the children themselves, he was happy to settle for a basic skills no frills curriculum that would equip Hispanics for penetration at the lower end of the economy. "Then we'll take it from there."

This, then was the historical and contemporary context of the Rafael Hernandez School, to which we will now devote our attention. As a lead

into the portrayal of the school I want briefly to return to 1976, when Maria Kline was appointed principal, a position she holds today. That was the first year of Phase 2 desegregation. Maria was in charge of Boston's Title VII program when, as a result of the Court plan, the principalship of the Rafael Hernandez was rated. By this time Maria had acquired a Masters degree (in educational administration) a requisite for appointment and a qualification which the very popular teacher-in-charge, Liana Perez-Felix, did not possess. Maria was appointed, beating off the challenge of two Puerto Rican contenders, including the favourite, Carmen Necheles, then Acting Director of the Department of Bilingual Education and Maria's boss. Maria talked about her reception at the school in September 76.

"Through the grapevine I heard there was going to be all sorts of demonstrations on my arrival. So I went early, days before I was due. They were shocked because I went to every room, I introduced myself to everyone, to every child I saw, to every parent who came to pick up kids. For the first month I was here quite a few members of staff would not speak to me, including one of the two Puerto Rican teachers. The issue was I was not Puerto Rican, I was Cuban. I had to meet protest groups of parents, I was interviewed on the Spanish media, I was coming into a jungle. The first year was miserable." It was three years before Maria felt she had overcome the opposition. Staff turnover helped to wash out the legacy of resentment, but it was a slow process, not helped by desegregation vagaries that constantly bedevilled Maria's efforts to secure a stable clientele.

In 1976 the Hernandez, a reluctant and deeply suspicious conscript to the desegregation imperative, was still a Puerto Rican school struggling to sustain its mission in the face of a changing clientele. Passionately parochial, isolationist in relation to the school system, it was a community of do-it-yourself pedagogic pragmatists. In Maria they saw the emissary of an uncomprehending and indifferent establishment, come to reclaim the runaway and normalise its mission. But Maria was nobody's messenger girl. An astute, skilled and experienced administrator with a mind of her own and an indomitable will, she weathered the early storms and set about the task of improving the school.

There were many problems, some acute. The Hernandez was under-resourced, lacking in materials, advice and support. The curriculum was poorly synchronised, with an uncoordinated variety of textbooks in use, and a chronic shortage of Spanish language materials. Maria knew how to write proposals, where to send them, whose decision would count, how to bypass channels and beard the fiscal gatekeepers. And with a large majority of the pupils eligible for official definitions of disadvantage, she was able to attract a diverse range of additional resources, programs and staff to the school, transforming it within a few years from a poorly to a relatively richly endowed institution. Desegregation grants, bilingual grants, special needs grants, cultural enrichment grants - a complex maze of categorical supplements provided the raw materials of curriculum orchestration and expansion. Grants came with strings attached of course, in theory restricting flexibility of application, but the lack of systematic monitoring in practice (nobody checks) made it possible to bend some resources to the experienced structure of the curriculum problem. Into every proposal she 'slipped' a request for textbooks or teaching materials (ill-considered by the funding categories) building up and broadening (in terms of cultural content) the Spanish language stock, taking advantage of the growing availability of Spanish textbooks.

One of the major causes of hostility on the part of the Hernandez teachers towards the downtown administration was, as it still is, the annual testing of the pupils' progress in English and Mathematics. These English language tests have to be taken by all pupils, by grade level irrespective of their language dominance and, in the case of Hernandez, without taking account of the fact that the children there follow schedules based on achievement rather than age grades. Since the results of these tests are published in the local press without any elaboration of circumstance, the public image of the school that is generated by this practice is consistently negative and unfair. There are those in the central administration who argue that for a transitional bilingual program tests in English constitute the appropriate criterion of success, but to observe Hernandez teachers translating test items for children who have not yet learned to read English underlines the technical deficiency and educational questionability of such a practice.

Maria persistently took issue with the administration over the tests

finally wringing a concessionary promise to publish separately the results of the English dominant and the Spanish dominant pupils. The dispute, and the practice, will presumably be overtaken by the implementation of the Lau plan, which calls for the use of tests in the child's dominant language.

By 1979 the Rafael Hernandez showed the imprint and was under the confident command of its principal, now tenured after three years probationary service. She had broadened the cultural education of the students from its Puerto Rican base to meet the needs of a more diverse population, used her grantsmanship to fill the curriculum gaps and her management skills to coordinate an increasingly complex organisation, and maintained the personal contacts gained during her spell downtown to secure quick and effective response to school problems in the context of an increasingly cumbersome and unpredictable central admininstration. She was a fully seasoned professional on the bridge of the Hispanic flagship.

And there we have to leave off this particular history not knowing, as we do, what the future holds for the Hispanic children of Boston, or for their children. It has taken a mighty effort to bring into being even one custom built credentialling institution that starts from the proposition that any mother tongue is a learning asset. And that institution, the Hernandez, is only an elementary school, not an educational system. Its graduates will find their next institution less comforting and probably less competent. One or two, now and then, may go all the way to Harvard and MIT, to Beacon Hill and maybe even to the White House. If a South Boston Catholic can, then who can't join the best and the beautiful. The Hispanic community already boasts its own log cabin legends, living testimony to the most pervasive sentiment of this society, that it is a meritocracy of talent and enterprise. But the harsh reality of ethnic handicap is but disguised by its spectacular escapees. Most of the children of the Hernandez are disadvantaged when they enter its kindergarten (the school's own estimate is that eighty-five per cent of the pupils are not in a position to make normal progress). If they stay long enough (and that certainly means longer than the State estimate of three years for transitional bilingual provision) they will probably leave the Hernandez with less of a shortfall in competitive performance than when they began.

But for most of them the receiving schools will be insufficiently supportive to do other than reopen the gap. Like the concrete auto ramp that now pointlessly links the Hernandez yard to its flat roof the academic ladder so painstakingly constructed by its staff may in retrospect look like the stairway to a slide. Damon Runyon said it better than most - "The race may not always be to the swift nor the battle to the strong but buddy, that'd better be the way you bet."

Any forecasts must, however, be tempered with caution. Around the Hernandez, in a pattern replicated with variations in many other cities, a labour-intensive economy has evolved and mushroomed, providing jobs, status, and the seeds of power for bilingual professionals. Implementation of Lau will extend (perhaps vastly) this domain, while the continuing struggle between local, state and federal agencies for control of the schools provides further opportunities for those who work the interstices, and who get the politics and the price right in a country that is now recoiling from successive years of double figure inflation. In Boston Garrity, dug in for a long and acrimonious struggle with the departure of Wood, will push his quota hiring requirements into the heart of the bureaucracy. Maria Brisk, and others like her, will turn out the qualified professionals, despite the rearguard actions of the Boston Teachers Union to offset majority redundancies against areas of growth like bilingual and special needs. And pragmatic alliances between the old the new power brokers (epitomised by Liana Perex-Felix's public declaration of support for long distance runner Mayor White) will help secure the Hispanic economy and make archaeology of some ideological hatchets. "Bilingual education is all about jobs", we were told, even before we set foot in Massachusetts. Well, of course it is about jobs, as teachers and aides, as teacher trainers, parent organisers, administrators, academics, senators, even as presidents - and for the children now in the Hernandez it's about a fair chance to make a fair living in the world's wealthiest country. But <u>all</u> about jobs? Not unless life is.

SECTION TWO - CURRICULUM IN ACTION

CLEM ADELMAN
SAVILLE KUSHNER
ROB WALKER

Preamble and section acknowledgements

The Hernandez, with the strong commitment of its students and its community, its unique history and its unusually well-qualified staff, represents a good opportunity to explore problems and successes in the development of bilingual education. In doing so we suggest that the reader suspend the question of how well the school stands up to scrutiny against the requirements of legislation and take up, instead, the question of how well laws and policies take account of the nature and needs of schooling.

This shift in the nature of the argument is marked by a shift in the style of the report. In what follows the reader will find a good deal of detailed information about the school, information that is embedded in a portrayal of the school rather than used to illustrate an analysis. The aim of this section of the report is to provide the reader with some sense of the school as a working institution and so the underlying structure shifts from historical narrative to an account of vocabularies of action.

You may find this shift in style disturbing and disruptive, but the transition from legislation, administration and politics to the working of a single school is not a smooth and straightforward one. There is in what follows a deliberate fragmentation and we warn you to bear this in mind as you read it. Perhaps the best approach is to treat what follows as an in-tray exercise, a mass of related but disparate material to be sorted, rearranged and returned to when some sense of priority is apparent. Better still would be to put yourself in the position of entering the school for the first time, for you will find conversations with teachers, observations of children and classrooms and anecdotes, all interwoven with attempts to explain a complex organisational system. To understand a single school logic and history is not enough.

The fieldwork for this account was carried out in conjunction with Michele Sola and Adriana Rodriquez of the Boston University team. The fieldwork was divided into two phases. In the first phase (three weeks), Clem and Rob, together with Michele and Adriana, collected the main part of the data base - Michele and Adriana both assisting Clem and Rob and conducting their own observations in classrooms. The second phase (three weeks and one week) was reserved for negotiating drafts with the school and filling in 'gaps' in the data. This was carried out by Saville.

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PART ONE - THE RAFAEL HERNANDEZ SCHOOL

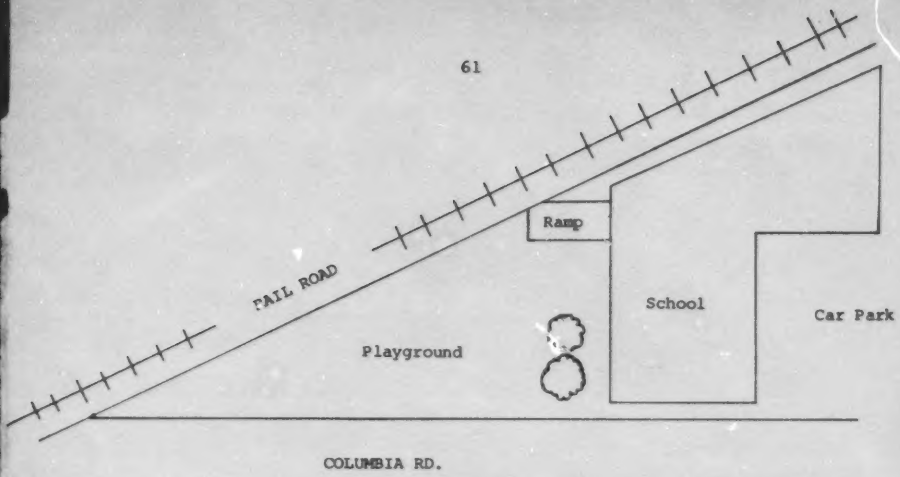
INTRODUCTION

The first part of this case study takes the form of a day in the work of the Principal. This narrative is interspersed with explanations of some of the key organisational features of the school. By the end of this section the reader should have some sense of the organisation and ethos of the school and be ready to begin looking more closely at what happens in the classroom.

The school is sited on an intersection on Columbia Road in the Dorchester area of the city and can be reached either from the north, off the expressway, or from the south by way of Franklin Park. To try and reach the school from the east or the west is to thread through a maze of streets in which the visitor who does not know the area is likely to get lost.

Columbia Road is a broad, four-lane road which cuts through mixed residential, commercial and manufacturing areas. Scattered along its winding length are occasional concentrations of stores, restaurants, bars and garages, and some of these are noticeably Hispanic (a store selling religious curios, a grocery, an array of political posters). Others are characteristically black - for instance, the Headquarters of the Afro-American Police flying its large U.S. flag. Concentrations of commercial development are sited at the main intersections along Columbia Road, but the intersection by the school is a minor one, with a group of small stores at the corner. The immediate surroundings of the school are mostly residential and waste ground. At this point, Columbia Road is tree-lined, and on the side opposite the school stand once well-to-do middle class houses that have since been lived in by several genrations of poor families. Looking with European eyes, it is difficult to equate large houses and a sense of space with poverty, but the area seems undeveloped, perhaps just far enough away from the city centre not to have attracted housing projects like those that can be found in Roxbury and the South End.

The school itself is situated on a cake slice piece of land between Columbia Road and the embankment that carries the railroad. The narrowest



Rafael Hernandez - site plan

STAFF

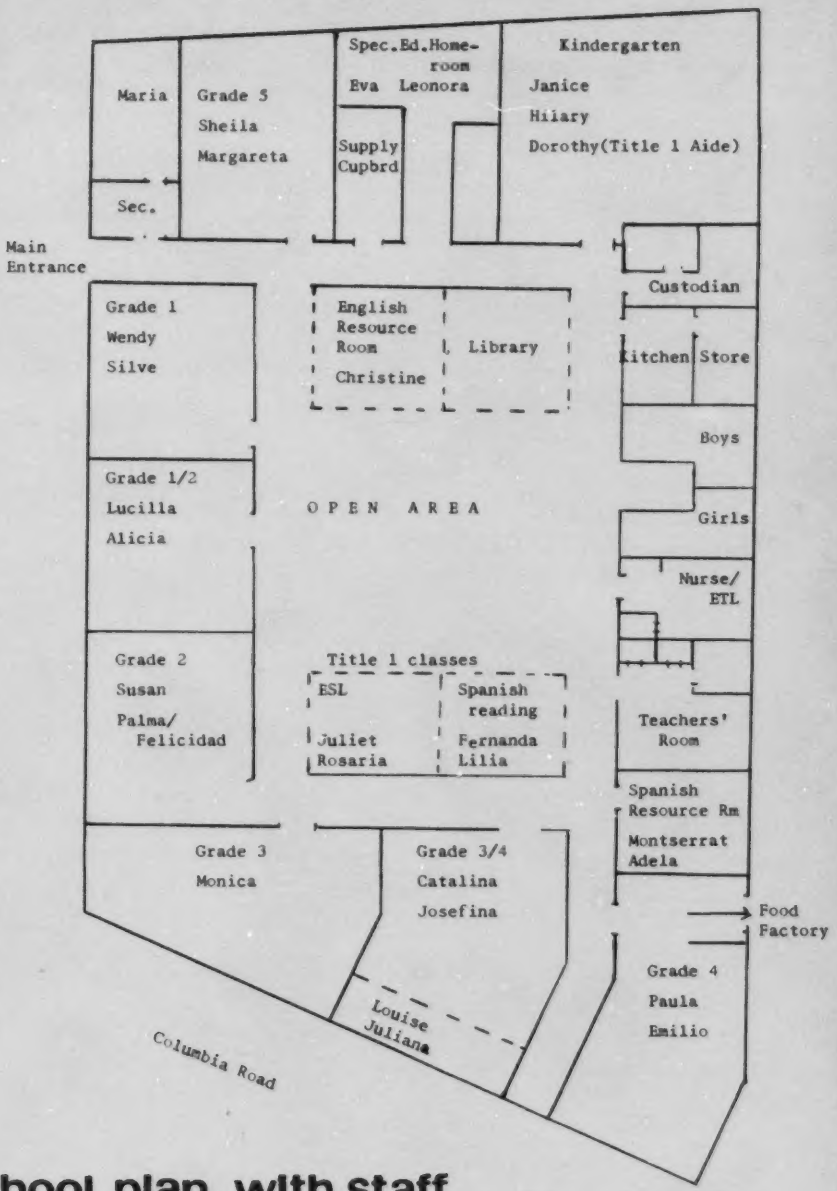
Adela	-	Aide	Lilia	-	Aide
Alex	-	Aquarium	Louise	-	Teacher
Alicia	-	Aide	Lucilla	-	Teacher
Catalina	-	Teacher	Margareta	-	Aide
Cathy	-	Aquarium	Maria	-	Principal
Christine	-	Teacher	Mariana	-	Student Teacher
Dorothy	-	Aide	Marje	-	Aquarium
Eddy	-	Custodian	Michael	-	Custodian
Emilio	-	Aide	Monica	-	Teacher
Eva	-	Teacher	Montserrat	-	Teacher
Fernanda	-	Teacher	Palma	-	Aide
Felizidad	-	Aide	Paula	-	Teacher
Hilary	-	Teacher	Rosaria	-	Aide
Janice	-	Teacher	Sally	-	Secretary
Josefina	-	Aide	Sheila	-	Teacher
Juliana	-	Teacher	Silve	-	Aide
Juliet	-	Teacher	Susan	-	Teacher
Keith	-	Security Officer	Wendy	-	Teacher
Leonora	-	Aide			

section of the slice is the school playground which is asphalted, small and crammed with playground furniture (though there is some additional grassed space the other side of the bridge which is used for organised games). The railway embankment is grass covered and rises twenty feet or so immediately above the playground and the west side of the school.

The school is a single storey building sculpted out of massive concrete. Twenty years ago it was a garage, a thriving Ford dealership when this was a prosperous white neighbourhood. As the community changed, so it lost its ability to support a car dealership, the owner sold up and the garage went through several changes of hands as a used car lot and repair place. Several teachers in the area still remember bringing their cars here for servicing. Eventually it fell vacant, and once acquired and converted by the School District, the site was subsequently awarded to the bilingual community as a location for a "cluster" to replace classes which had hitherto been housed in temporary premises at Denison House. The school building still retains some traces of its previous existence. A heavy concrete ramp, which once connected to the roof and now points to the sky through a mesh of barbed wire, is one reminder. The heavy concrete pillars that support the roof is another.

Visitors usually leave their cars in the lot on the north side of the building. Walking round to the south side, a covered path leads to the main entrance, past a small maple tree and three sculptures of green frogs (folk symbols of Puerto Rico) in the playground. The school presents few eye-level windows to the outside and the main door is of heavy metal. To get in you have to ring, while noting the sign informing you that the building is "electrically protected against burglary, theft and hold-up". Whoever happens to be nearest the door, including the Principal, will let you in.

You find yourself facing down a wide corridor, carpeted in grey. The walls are concrete, painted in white down to about 5th Grade child height, then in a range of bright colours (which have the visual effect of breaking up the space) down the length of the corridor. Immediately to the left as you enter the school is the secretary's room, though she sits around the corner and cannot immediately see, or be seen, by whoever is coming in and out of the door. What you do see is a teacher or aide at work on



school plan with staff

the spirit duplicator (a machine that is virtually in full-time use). The secretary's room is always open, as is the door beyond (except on rare occasions) which connects to the Principal's office; a large room with a desk, conference table and intercom equipment.

Maria is the Principal. It is rare to see her sitting at her desk. Usually she has someone in the office with her, a teacher, parent, child or visitor, and her preferred way of working is to sit with them at the conference table, or for shorter encounters, to stand at the table checking through documents or teaching materials. Maria looks surprisingly young to most visitors. Dressed in a flowered print dress, her long hair loose, she could pass for a novice teacher or a student but for the sure confidence in the way she talks and walks around the school.

School begins at 9, but from 8.30 on, Maria is warming up the organisation just as the custodian has to warm up the boilers in advance. Today there are two substitute teachers to settle in, bus problems to sort out, a climate for the day to be established. The office has to be running before the children come in through the door. At 8.45 we ask her, "What have you done so far this morning?" "Answered the phone, been out to check the children's behaviour in the playground, talked to the security aide, chased up kids, and teachers.. I've begun the accounts and I've been talking to teachers as they come in." We also get a look of resignation, as if the question carried the implication that the administrator's life was an easy one. The secretary brings in a letter for the Art teacher. It concerns a Q-tips contest for schools, Maria tells me. I notice that the sponsors have hopefully marked the envelope URGENT. Maria puts it to one side and sets off down the corridor to find the substitute teachers.

Proceeding down the corridor through open swing doors, there is a plaque on the wall commemorating Jimmy Flores, a Puerto Rican student who died of a liver disease, having achieved a place at the city's prestigious examination-entry school. In Jimmy Flores' name, an award is made each year at the school and the framed newspaper article alongside it tells of the first recipient of the award, an Hispanic boy who had no Spanish when he came here but who learnt it at the school. Along-

side, there is a less permanent "Honours Board" improvised from paper and card - an A in English, Maths, Reading or Social Studies gets your name on the board.

We pass a space against the wall. "We used to have a fish tank here", Maria explains, "but one night someone broke in and stole it." The school is wired with elaborate security systems. "The problem isn't vandalism," she explains, "but theft. Adults looking for typewriters..." before the security system was installed, they used to have loose guard dogs patrolling the roof at night to discourage intruders.

Maria finds one of the substitute teachers, a middle-aged woman who has some spirit masters to duplicate. She asks her if she wants the copies done, the teacher explains she does but the machine is busy. Maria insists on taking her to the office, gently and tactfully negotiates a space for her at the machine and makes sure that she has it working correctly. The teacher protests quietly all the while, but only out of politeness and deference. Once out of earshot, Maria explains that she thinks it is especially important for substitute teachers to start the day feeling that they are well organised.

Since we came in, a boy has been standing quietly in Maria's office, his back to the wall, having been reported for misbehaving on the bus.

The dominant impression (especially to people with expectations of inner city schools in disorder) is of a school that is ordered, smooth running and quiet. Many of the teachers teach all day with their classroom doors open. Children aren't often seen running or shouting, and it is rare to hear a teacher raise her voice. Those discipline incidents that do occur do not seem to be contagious, they remain individual and mostly isolated incidents. Nor do the teachers show many signs of the stress that teaching in many inner city schools creates. "You can work here and mostly remain sane", was the mock cynical comment one teacher made. Almost everyone who works in the school gives the impression that they like it here, and would not readily move to another school. Besides the school's bilingual status most of them put this affiliation down to

the smallness of the school, the fact that everyone knows everything about everyone. "Here you know which kids have been to the bathroom in the last ten minutes", was one visiting teacher's summing up.

Another impression, less strong, but marking the school as distinctive, are the many cultural symbols and artefacts. Posters, maps, flags, musical instruments; every classroom has some reference to Puerto Rico or the Spanish language, and some have many. You hear Spanish spoken in every corner of the school.

The school is small - 211 students of which the April 1980 figures show 33 White, 34 Black and 140 'other minority' including Dominican, Cape Verdean, Haitian - but mainly Hispanic in family origin and of those, most are Puerto Rican. (Previous year's figures showed 20 White, 66 Black and 125 'other minority'.)

Student Statistics (as at April 1980)

Grade	Hispanic *	Black	White	Native American	Oriental	Total
K1	13	3	2	1	0	19
K2	17	5	2	0	0	24
1	27	1	6	1	0	35
2	22	5	5	0	0	32
3	21	11	8	0	0	40
4	22	4	5	1	0	32
5	15	5	5	0	0	25
Total	137	34	33	3	0	207
Percentage	66	16	16	1	0	100

There are 15 full-time teachers and three part-time teachers (of specialist subjects such as Art, Music, Home Economics) though this number varies according to availability. There are 13 teacher aides; a secretary; a security aide and two maintenance men who service the whole site (including the food kitchens next door) but who have an office in the school. There are seven homeroom classes (there are five Grades but some have enough students for two classes); a Kindergarten and six classes for special programmes (Title 1 and Special Education).

*All nomenclatures follow common usage.

All the Homeroom teachers are experienced elementary school teachers and, in addition, have considerable experience in bilingual education. Five are white American, two are Cuban. All but one have been at the Rafael Hernandez for more than two years. Of the teachers on special programmes, two are white American, one is black American, two are Cuban and one is Argentinian. In the year this study took place one of the Cuban teachers was named Boston Public Schools' "Teacher of the Year" and "Massachusetts Teacher of the Year" and was going on to be nominated for the all-America contest.

The teacher aides (or para-professionals as some of them and some teachers insist on their being called) tend to be less qualified on paper though have as much experience of both elementary schools and bilingual education as many of the teachers. Almost all have taken or are currently taking qualifying courses on a part-time basis; some with Maria Brisk at Boston University. Two temporarily dropped their studies before completion and, of this year's group, two expect to graduate as qualified elementary teachers. A further one left during this study having graduated and secured a job in Puerto Rico - her home country. Five of the aides are Puerto Rican; two are Cuban; two are American; one is Honduran; one comes from Guatemala; one from Argentina and one came to America (via England) from St.Kitts.

At five past nine, Maria takes the big brass hand bell and goes out into the yard. When she rings it, the children assemble in homeroom lines with a teacher at the head of each line. Maria talks softly to individual children and asks for quiet. The classes file into school. She points out to me one of the Kindergarten children, an Hispanic girl, who is crying at saying goodbye to her grandmother. She explains to me that the girl wants her grandmother to wait in the playground until it is time for her to go home. "The trouble is," she explains, "that the grandmother was late a couple of times and the little girl is frightened she won't be there when she comes out."

Back in the office, the phone rings. It is a social worker who wants to talk about a problem family. Maria tells him about the father coming to a parents' evening and being drunk, not aggressively so, but apparently he repeated everything Maria had said to the meeting, phrase by phrase,

in a voice loud enough for everyone to hear. It seems he came to the meeting on the social worker's suggestion, his idea being to get the parents to take a greater interest and involvement in their children's schooling. The phone conversation is in Spanish.

Maria finds the other substitute teacher waiting in the outer office. A young white man, he seems pleased to be reassigned to this school. "Come on Eliot," she says, "you're with a Title 1 Class today." As we walk down to the far end of the open space, she explains that a large proportion of the faculty are women with young children. A Title I teacher is away because her child is sick. She looks through the teacher's papers for any plans for the day. "It's not like her not to have plans. She's usually so well organised ... but I suppose she expected to be here ..." She finds some notes and gives Eliot some leads to follow. He seems confident.

On our way to Juliana's Title 1 Class, Maria has been stopped by a girl who had given her a note from home. It was a parental consent form sent out to inform the parents that the school was offering extra teaching in the Title 1 Class.

CURRICULUM ORGANISATION

The scheduling of morning study in the school is done on an individual basis with each student pursuing their own timetable of lessons according to their assessed educational needs. The assessment takes place at the end of each academic year in a process called 'End of Year Evaluation' in which teachers make judgements about the grade levels at which each of their students ought to be studying in each subject. (See 'Levelling' below.) At the same time, the school tries to maintain uniformity in school-wide timetabling by breaking the day down into three parts. In the first half of the morning, students take reading in their first or dominant language. The second half of the morning is devoted to 'Language Arts' (literacy skills), but in the students' second language. For these two sessions students may move around the school, going from class to class as they attend the appropriate mix of lessons. These classes usually being conducted solely in either Spanish or English, the children being grouped by achievement level rather than by age.

In contrast, the afternoon is devoted to 'Homeroom Studies' when the whole class stay together as an age group. Here they study a range of subjects including Maths, Science, Home Economics, Art, Music and Social Studies, and they stay in their own homeroom throughout. Unlike morning studies, afternoon studies tend not to be 'levelled', and all students study together at their age grade level, the language used depending on the task and who is involved in the discussion.

The only formal variation to this scheme is in Kindergarten. Here students attend for only half of the day. A child can attend Kindergarten for two years and this year the second-year group (K2) come in the morning and are followed in the afternoon by the first-year group (K1). Kindergarten is a continuous lesson broken down into different activities and is conducted in English, in Spanish or bilingually according to the activity and the demands of the teaching situation at a particular moment.

The following is a summary of the school schedule:

The Schedules

Kindergarten	K1 and K2 denote first- and second-year Kindergarten. Children attend for one half day. Activities are based on play, movement and art, both English and Spanish are used.
Grade 1	
a.m. (phase i)	Reading in the dominant language of the child.
a.m. (phase ii)	Reading and language arts in the second language (including ESL or SSL).
p.m.	Students are in the homeroom for Maths, Science, Home Economics, Social Studies, etc. The groups are bilingual and this is where different approaches to bilingual teaching are evident. There will be some monolingual teaching where students appear to need it.
Grade 2	
a.m.	Same as in Grade 1 but the schedule is beginning to individualise on the basis of the assessed needs of the children.

Grade 2 (continued)

p.m. Homeroom Studies as in Grade 1 but with more emphasis on bilingual use as children learn reading and oral skills. There will be less monolingual teaching in the homeroom from now on through the Grades.

Grade 3

a.m. Same as in Grade 2 but with yet more individualisation.

p.m. Same as in Grade 2.

Grade 4

a.m. By now the Spanish-dominant children should be able to switch to one period of Spanish reading and two of English reading. English-dominant children take the same programme since their bilingual needs are assumed to diminish as they move into preparation for transition. Grades 4 and 5 can be thought of as 'Transition Grades'. Mainstreaming to English grows in emphasis alongside bilingualism for the Spanish-dominant.

p.m. Same as in Grade 3.

Grade 5

a.m./p.m. Same as in Grade 4 but further emphasis on English literacy.

Additional Programmes

The schedule is a framework which accommodates the whole range of Elementary school studies. Appropriate 'slots' are allocated for Title 1 (Supplementary and Remedial classes); Special Education; and specialist subjects such as Art, Gym, Music and Home Economics. Title 1 teachers can only "pull" students out of regular classes for one period per day and they try to confine that to the morning as far as is possible. Special education teachers "pull" throughout the day and can hold students for anything from one period to the whole day (with the exception of recess and lunch) in what are called English or Spanish Resource Rooms. Since specialist teachers (Art and Music, for instance) are assigned to the school on a daily basis, specialist subjects have to take place throughout

the day. They are generally taught in bilingual classes and tend to be concentrated in the afternoon homeroom periods. Other teaching 'events' such as visits to and from linked institutions tend also to be scheduled for the homeroom.

Levelling

All students start and finish the day in their homeroom (their Grade room) and, usually, they take their afternoon classes there. When they are not in the homeroom, those in mainstream classes will be with students from other Grades - either higher or lower than them, but studying at a similar level. This latter feature, developed at the Hernandez School and exported to other schools in Boston, is called 'levelling'.

At the end of each year, every student receives a teacher evaluation of his or her current level of achievement in English, Maths, and Spanish and it is on this basis that the student's timetable is drawn up - assigning him or her to classes in each of those three areas appropriate to current achievement. The school describes this evaluation as informal though based upon a set of criteria established by the school for all students.

Teacher judgement plays a significant part, but as the staff succeed in developing and more closely defining the criteria in operational terms, they feel that the subjective element in these judgements will recede. This is considered integral to the development of a working consensus on how best to organise and operate the bilingual programme, Susan, one of the senior faculty, explains:

> "... periodically, we'll say every two years, we have to talk about what we're all about. We talk about it and we get an agreement as far as - you know, someone could walk out of the room who didn't know everyone, and say, well, okay, they're all in agreement - they're all working towards the same thing.' But knowing everyone, I know we're not, and I know there is a lot which is different. But we cooperate and we work towards the same goals. We try to set up standards for deciding whether a child will get two periods of Spanish and one period of English; two periods of English and one period of Spanish. We're progressing towards getting these things standardised so it's not a subjective thing - it doesn't depend on who the homeroom teacher is, which balance the child gets."

"Have you achieved that yet?"

"Not totally, but I think we're well on the way to it ...because it's been verbalised, it has been set down in writing, for this present year. It was set down in writing in our schedule and Maria has standards in her mind which coincide with what was set down on paper ... Not everyone completely understands it, not everyone will completely enforce it, but you do have the recourse of saying, 'look this is what it says here, okay, this has the Principal's backing ..."

The levelling system then is a means both for standardising the curriculum and for offering an individualised service to the student. For each child, the end of year evaluation results in an individualised daily timetable of classes intended to reflect their subject-by-subject needs (so far as they are apparent in achievement; other criteria may be used for different aspects of student routing - learning-behaviour for Special Education provision, indices of 'maturity' for students required to repeat a year). This is not to say that students pursue unique schedules. Frequently, patterns emerge and groups of students from one homeroom will move through the school day together where they find themselves studying at the same levels. In such cases, perhaps, half-a-dozen students will move from one class to another at period end, and,usually, that means English-dominant or Spanish-dominant groups moving together.

The school tries to confine individualised scheduling to the morning sessions of reading and language arts. Afternoon studies in the homeroom maintain age grades intact. The intention is to protect the homeroom as a forum for social and academic integration since it is here that different language groups study together. Nonetheless, homeroom scheduling is not sacrosanct and it is often necessary to erode it. Hence, Social Studies - a homeroom subject - may be levelled and, in the lower grades at least, students are in fact separated by language dominance. (Alison and Catalina - two of the homeroom teachers - 'exchange' Spanish and English-dominant students for social studies to preserve the language-dominance of their groups.) In addition, Title 1 and Special Education teachers withdraw students throughout the day, including the afternoon, again, into monolingual groups.

The scheduling system is complex and integrates principles of pedagogy, curriculum organisation and social relationships. It is sensitive, and, like a finely tuned motor engine, it is susceptible to overload. For example this year strain is being put on the schedules by the need to mainstream an unprecedentedly large number of Special Education students, a problem that became sharpened by the late assignment to the school of the English Resource Room teacher (Christine). Christine explained that she missed the chance to "stake her claim" on student schedules:

> Having identified the whole cohort of Special Education students Maria had to decide who was going to take them?
>
> Well, it's pretty well clear cut because you know who's English-dominant and who's not. They have a language-dominance test ...
>
> Presumably there aren't enough English-dominant kids?
>
> There are now. That's why I came. They had so many and they decided they would start a class.
>
> But you're still getting Spanish-dominant kids?
>
> Now some of the kids - in the home, Spanish is spoken but they prefer to use English ... so what do you call them? Do you know what I mean? So, they might be speaking English in my class but all of a sudden, in normal conversation, they'll break off into Spanish.

Christine is not trained as a bilingual teacher - her qualifications are in Special Education and one particular group, she feels, is inappropriately placed with her, and might be better placed with a bilingual teacher:

> I was hired the middle of September ... the groups were already formed, the schedules already made ... I had to conform to their (student) schedules. I might have three 5th Graders and two 2nd Graders in that group, although they might be working on individual things as far as the communication between them and the peer interaction is concerned, it's not good. If I had more of an input into the scheduling, I would change things.

One repercussion of highly complex scheduling such as this, is a degree of inflexibility in coping with late admissions or parental second thoughts. Christine finds herself competing for her students with specialist subjects:

> A really funny situation that's really come about this year - they want to go to Art, they want to go to Music, and those are usually in the afternoon. What do you do? Do you say, 'You can't go?' So I try to work out some kind of plan with them saying, 'You can go to Art and Music but not Science and Gym this week,' because then they might be missing three classes out of five that week. That's a big problem. I never know how many are going to be in my class.

The use of the scheduling system to articulate Special Education and Title 1 with the main programme remains a problem.

Maria goes into Sheila's class to find Pedro. He has been reported to her by one of the bus aides for misbehaving on the bus. She tells him how he must stay in his seat, how dangerous it could be to move around the bus in case the driver has to stop suddenly. She speaks to him in Spanish. We ask her about the bus aides; are they the same people who are teacher aides? No, she explains, they used to be but now they want bus aides to do two trips each morning instead of one (mainly for financial reasons - bus aides get $10.55 for one trip but only $15.28 for two trips). Besides, she says, the bus aides are both black women, "and we don't have many black teachers in the schoool, so I figure it is good for the children to have some contact with them." The school has two big buses and four other vehicles. Buses deliver the children in the morning and collect them in the afternoon, there's also a bus that comes at lunchtime to collect the first session kindergarten.

As we walk back to the office, Maria explains that Pedro is one of the children in the family she had discussed on the phone with the social worker ten minutes earlier.

PEDRO, A 5th GRADER

Pedro is eleven years old with three younger siblings in the school. He is Puerto Rican and bilingual although his Spanish is clearly dominant. He has a slight impairment in his hearing.

He came to Kindergarten as a five year old. He refused to speak for almost the whole first year. The Kindergarten teachers did not know what to do

with Pedro. He would come to school every day with his hands in his pockets, would kneel on his chair and never speak a word. When he moved into the 1st Grade, the Special Education teacher would have to go and get him from his class and bring him to the special education room - he would only come in response to such personal attention and this went on for almost two years. Finally, he began to speak, little by little, at first only in whispers. The real breakthrough came with the discovery of a toy that would make coloured strings when you poured plastic in the top and pushed a handle which forced the plastic out of the holes on the side. If Pedro would tell the teacher the names of a certain number of objects, or show her how to do an exercise in his notebook, or draw something, she would let him play with the toy; and later she was able to teach him to count, and to teach him the names of colours by using the coloured plastic strings. Once he began to speak, he started to interact more with children in other classes.

Even so, Pedro tends to interact with his teachers more than with other students. He is recessive with fellow students, particularly when in a large class. In one class some students reacted to Pedro's erratic behaviour by moving their desks away from his, and gesturing to the observer that he was 'crazy'. Pedro is often eager to assist the teacher in some way. During the Art class he volunteers to hang the pictures they have made on the wall. He also goes around at the end of the class and collects the scraps of paper that belong in the waste basket. Pleasing the teacher may be part of the respectful upbringing that teachers credit his parents for establishing.

The observer followed Pedro through his daily timetable:

In the Spanish Resource Room

Pedro has stayed behind as his fellow-students go off to their respective homerooms. The aide is working with a small group and the teacher is happy to devote time to Pedro. She is a teacher who easily becomes attached to her students. She works patiently with him tackling ordinal numbers. They work through several problems on the board and then Pedro has to repeat the exercises from memory. The whole time the teacher has her arms around Pedro in a motherly fashion.
In other classes, Pedro can be more distracted and less cooperative. His

English reading class is in a 'walled-off' section of the central open area where it is easy to be distracted. The teacher in his class speaks no Spanish. Here, Pedro will be more resistant (though clearly competent when asked to read) and will not work as steadily as in classes with bilingual teachers. He might use his slight hearing impediment as an excuse for not following an instruction. When he responds to teachers he will do so in the teacher's dominant language and he will also use language switching with students.

In a Social Studies Lesson

Pedro is sitting at a table with three other boys. The teacher sits in a chair with another group, but addresses the whole class. She gives riddles to which the class has to try and guess the answers. Pedro participates and occasionally gets a word correct. The teacher asks Pedro questions, both when he volunteers and a couple of times when he does not. One of the riddles goes as follows:

De la tierra subi al cielo	*From the earth I went up to the sky*
Del cielo vuelvo a bajar	*From the sky I turn round and come back down*
No soy Dios	*I am not God*
Pero como a Dios me esperan	*But I am awaited just like God*

The answer is 'rain'. Teacher asks Pedro why rain is compared to God and his answer is that it wets the earth. He can make responses to most of the questions directed to the class or to him.

At the end of the lesson, the class goes over the homework. Pedro does his very slowly. He is the last one to take his up to the teacher but she praises him for doing it so neatly and perfectly.

In the English Resource Room

Pedro's behaviour has changed markedly since he acquired a hearing aid, though he does not yet bring it to school every day. Today he did bring it but he has left it in the Spanish resource room. He is excitable and erratic; he holds his book upside down and pretends he cannot read it. When the teacher shows him the place he reads well. Eventually, the teacher sends him off to collect his hearing aid and he returns to sit and play with it. When the teacher admonishes him, he quips that he is trying to tune into Channel 7.

Pedro's daily timetable of lessons is currently as follows:

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lesson	Spanish reading	Spanish reading	English reading	Spec.Ed. Res.Room	Title 1 ESL	Homeroom Studies
Level	3	3	1A			

5th GRADE STUDENTS - CONVERSATION NOTES

There are a small group of students in Sheila's 5th Grade class. Each has a unique history in the school - each has been routed through an individualised curriculum. They each, also, have their own backgrounds. One, Edna, is a white student from South Boston - she is one of two students in the school who come from that area. She is reluctant to talk - perhaps wary, possibly even weary of the interest created by a South Boston Irish family who sends a child to a Hispanic magnet school. In fact, she says, her parents were unhappy with the parochial schools and, in any case, were attracted by the opportunity for Edna to learn a foreign language. More than that Edna finds hard to talk about.

Humberto comes from the Dominican Republic and is Spanish-dominant. He has always been something of a problem student and is regularly disciplined for some break of class rules. He is cheerful, though and respected by Sheila, the homeroom teacher. Humberto entered the Hernandez in Grade 2 - he had never been to school before but he was, Maria tells us, simply too big to mix in Grade 1. His progress through the school went relatively unhindered. He took Title 1 classes in ESL early on and soon came up to Grade level. In fact, when in Grade 4, he was taken out of his regular schedule and put into Special Education classes for one or two periods a day (for behaviour problems) and he went into Christine's monolingual English classes. Currently he is pursuing his regular daily timetable with a Title 1 class for remedial reading in English (with Louise). Sheila tells us of his home background. He is the eldest son in a family which has no father. Spanish is the language spoken at home but because he carries a lot of family responsibilities, this forces him to use English a lot. He is, in fact, bilingual.

So are Francesca and Joselita. One was born here, the other arrived in Boston aged two - both are from Puerto Rican families. Joselita spent much of her first year and some of the second year at the Hernandez in Special Education classes. She was unhappy in the school and, she says, spent most of her time crying. Other than that, both girls, who are close friends in and out of school, have followed a similar route through the school, taking the full range of classes with remedial lessons in English reading. Both speak Spanish and English with almost equal ease and both admit to preferring English. Francesca even admits to having some gaps in her Spanish vocabulary. Joselita talks to her mother in Spanish, but to her brother in English. Likewise, Francesca talks to her mother in Spanish and to her sister in English. "It's funny - sometimes you can start a sentence in English and finish it in Spanish - and you don't even notice. But not very often." Francesca and Joselita have attached a degree of bilingual competence, to the point where it is not only a positive advantage, but fun to speak two languages. Both help their mothers with translating for the family shopping. Joselita's mother wants to return to Puerto Rico, but Joselita does not. She likes the USA and says that she values her American identity more than her Hispanic one.

Sue is a white, English-speaking girl of Irish descent who lives not far from the school at Field's Corner in Dorchester. She has been at the school since Grade 3 and is now in Grade 5. She attends none of the additional classes provided by special programmes, studying at Grade level throughout, with the exception of SSL, which she takes at the second, or intermediate level. Sue's parents were keen for her to attend the Hernandez following the success of her older brother at the school. He went on from the school to the King (Middle School), and later to the prestigious Boston Latin High School. Teachers at the Hernandez still remember Sue's brother as "a very bright boy". Sue seems to have been left a little in his shadow, but the teachers say that since her brother transferred Sue has settled down and achieved well.

José has been at the Hernandez for this year only. He came from another school where he stood out by virtue of being Hispanic and where he received a lot of abuse for it - he remembers being called 'Spic' by the other kids. Neither he nor his parents were happy about the school. José's family is Puerto Rican but he has been raised in Boston and is English-dominant. He has little fluency in Spanish. His father, on the

other hand, has never learned English and so the two have great difficulty in communicating. It was not until last year that his parents heard about the Rafael Hernandez but having done so they quickly made arrangements for José to transfer. Sheila says that José is quick to pick up Spanish and he is taking Spanish as a second language on a second level, but what the school can do in one year is limited. He will be at risk of losing what he has learned unless he finds a middle school bilingual programme with the resources to continue his Spanish education at an appropriate level. Sheila is uncertain of the prospect.

While the diversity in this small sample is remarkable, there are important similarities in their stories. A pattern begins to emerge: all of them have taken 'special' classes at some stage or other, either Title 1 or Special Education. All of them are levelled for some subject and this always includes their second language studies. Most of them, grouped by dominant language, go to the same classes each day. It seems that students tend to follow a common daily timetable within their language groups but that individualising the schedule allows flexibility, so that, on average, perhaps one quarter of a student's day varies from the general pattern of that day. This can be seen from the students' timetables on the day we talked to them.

HUMBERTO (Spanish-dominant)

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lesson	Title 1 reading	English reading	Spanish reading	Maths	Spec.Ed. Res.room	Homeroom studies
Level		3A	3	4B		

FRANCESCA (Spanish-dominant Hispanic)

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lesson	English reading	Title 1 reading	Spanish reading	Maths	Social Studies	Homeroom studies
Level	3B					

JOSELITA (Spanish-dominant Hispanic)

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lesson	English reading	Title I reading	Spanish reading	Math's	Social studies	Homeroom studies
Level	3B					

SUE (English-dominant White)

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lesson	English reading	English reading	SSL	Maths	Social studies	Homeroom studies
Level	5	5	3	5	5	

JOSÉ (English-dominant Hispanic)

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lesson	English reading	English reading	SSL	Maths	Social studies	Homeroom studies
Level	5	5	2	5	5	

We tried a number of ways of comprehending the relationships between student, curriculum and organisation. Following a student around the school, as we did with Pedro, can offer some fine-grain detail. We followed one of the 5th Graders whom we spoke to - Sue - through her morning's sessions. Watching Sue we were able to anticipate the larger task of classroom observation.

"How did your day begin?" we asked. Sue says she got up at 7, made herself a sandwich for lunch, woke her brother and walked down to Field's Corner to catch the bus at 8.30. She had breakfast in school at around 9, and the first period of the day began soon after, when she went to Paula's room for English reading.

In Paula's class she works from a book called Discovering Phonics We Use (Rand McNally) in which she has reached a section headed "Recognition of

long and short 'O' sounds". The class is divided into three groups. Emilio, the aide, works with one group at the back of the room, while Paula, the teacher, has a second group sitting around her on chairs in the middle of the room. Sue's group sit around a block of desks each working through their books. There are 18 children in the class, 6 in each group, and although they all convene in this class first period each day, they come from different homerooms.

A casual visitor to the school, pausing at the open door and seeing three groups of six children quietly working, apparently well supplied with books and materials, might be forgiven for thinking that 2 adults to 18 children is a generous (some teachers might think ideal) ratio. Surface features are though somewhat misleading. What the first glance does not reveal is the complexity of organisation in the room. The three groups are working on different levels, and with each group individuals are working on different tasks, or are at different points in working through the same sequence of tasks. In terms of the curriculum the structure is complex, and to appreciate the nature of the educational organisation required you have to look at the variety and organisation of the tasks, not simply at the number of people in the room. Through the first two periods each group spends time with the workbook and time in face-to-face direct teaching with Paula, the teacher is kept constantly busy, the ringmaster is a three ring circus.

We look more closely at what Sue is doing. She is puzzled by an instruction in the workbook which reads:

> "Write these words on the lines below the generalisation that helps you tell which vowel sounds the words contain."

A list of words follow. Then a list of statements, the first of which is:

> "In a short word with two vowels, one of which is the final e, the first vowel usually stands for the long vowel sound."

Then it says: "Write in the words from the list".

Sue puzzles over this for some minutes. She asks her friend Julie what to do, but Julie has not reached this point and does not know what to do either. Paula notices them and comes over to explain. The difficulty is quickly resolved. It isn't that Sue cannot do the task, but that she cannot interpret the instructions. She knows what to do once she can see the

relation between the different kinds of information on the page. She read the first statement and could not see what to do. It was only when Paula directed her attention to what was written half way down the page that the task became clear.

Having written the words in the spaces under the general statements, Sue checks some of those she is not sure about with Julie and with John. They talk very little, however, and then mostly about the task. There is very little chatting or gossiping. As the second period begins Paula takes the group into the centre of the room where they sit round in a circle. They go through an exercise on nouns and verbs, then read a story in turn. The pace is brisk and Paula uses questions to hold their attention and concentration. After some fifteen minutes she sets them a further task to complete before the end of the lesson. It is an exercise from a book called Scratch Papers, called "Zany words and Dizzy Definitions": a cleverly designed exercise with its own rather literary sense of humour. The exercise begins with a fascimile page, apparently torn from a dictionary, which includes items like:

were-wolf	n	In folk tales a man who has changed or can change himself into a wolf.
Wil-bur	n	1. A kid who is too smart for his own good. 2. A kind of fishing rod used for deep sea fishing on the moon.
Words-worth		1. n A person known to write now and then. 2. adj deserving of one word in praise of one's worth: He is a wordsworth man. 3. v To use suitable words for: Mr.Winklebottoms is trying to wordsworth the class.

Some of the questions that follow are straightforward (and straight-faced), asking where certain new words would fit in the page. Others ask you to accept the meanings given and to construct sentences using them (e.g. "Write a sentence using the first definition of wordsworth" - to which Sue has written: "I use the word now and then"). Other questions attempt to draw you further into the humour of the exercise ("Which definition of Wilbur makes sense in the sentence: "I know a lot of Wilburs who get into trouble."). It is a difficult and sophisticated task, and it seems Sue doesn't understand it too well because she appears not to pick up the humour in it.

Period Three and Sue returns to the 5th Grade homeroom where Sheila conducts

an oral Spanish class for children studying at the second level. It is a very mixed class, drawing children from Grades 3-5. Four of the class are from Hispanic families - two from homes where the father is Spanish-dominant and the mother English-dominant, and two Special Education students who are not far enough developed in Spanish to begin reading.

Sheila teaches the class as a whole class, beginning by going through a Halloween vocabulary:

oscuro	máscara
calabaza	disfraz
esqueleto	noche
murciélago	escoba
fantasma	duende
bruja	luna

The emphasis on vocabulary leans the lesson towards an emphasis on translation and reference is constantly made to pictures or to English referents.

The lesson appears light-hearted and enjoyable. The class reads through a poem several times with some glee, gaining in confidence with each attempt:

Calabaza amarilla
le dimos dos ojos
boca sonriente
y nos esconderemos
la noche
Cuando

They also sing a song "goblin in the dark" in both English and Spanish (from the Bilingual Resource Book Fort Worth).

STUDENT ROUTES AND THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

The interconnection of the various elements within the whole school programme can be summed up in the following diagram. The reader may wish to pause at this point since the diagram and its student profiles offer something of a summary. To understand the movement of these students through the school is to understand something of the complexity of the curriculum. (The four student profiles are fictional.)

Explanation of the diagram

The diagram is an impressionistic and approximate portrayal of the programme at the Rafael Hernandez. It is constructed from a particular perspective - that of transition within the school from special programmes

to the mainstream programme. The reader should note, firstly, that we did not encounter any student who was not taking remedial, supplementary or special classes. What is represented, therefore, is a range of routes through the school's programme for students who typically participate in additional programmes which substitute - in varying degrees - for mainstream classes.

Each of the four (fictional) students portrayed can be seen to spend longer or shorter periods of time in these additional programmes before concentrating on mainstream studies. (The detailed explanations are given in the notes which follow the diagram.)

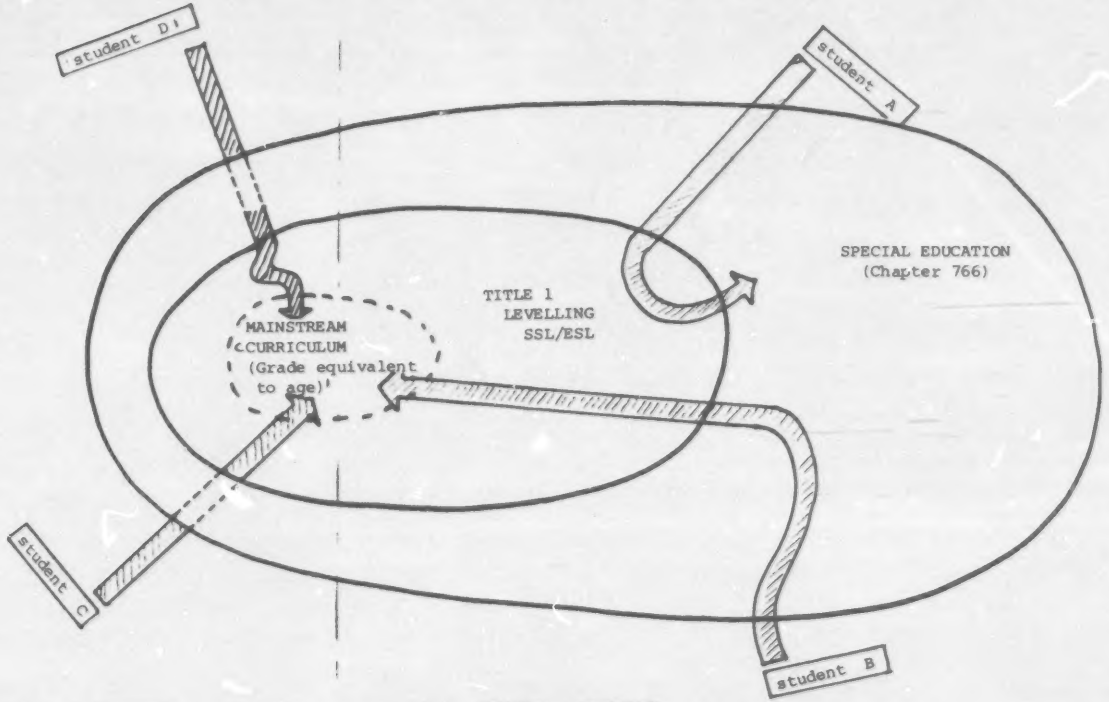
Few students spend all of their time either in or out of the mainstream programme. The fact of arrows ending in the centre of the elipse merely indicates passage to a position where - with the possible exception of one or two classes each week - the student is embarked upon the full transitional programme in preparation for the move to middle school. The chronology is neither precise nor important for the purposes of this diagram. What is important is the volume of time spent in different parts of the programme. Hence, the fact of Student B's passage through the middle elipse (Title 1, etc.) being longer than those of students A and C simply indicates that of all the classes and hours spent studying at the Hernandez, many more of student A's than of the others were devoted to supplementary or remedial studies.

Dotted lines indicate bypassing.

English-dominant students tend to fall to the left of the diagram indicating less time spent in additional programmes than Hispanic students who tend to fall to the right.

The diagram follows on the next page.

penetrating the curriculum



Student Profiles from the Diagram

STUDENT A - Spanish-dominant Hispanic with behavioural problems. He is recessive and frightened of contact in large groups. He is in the Special Education room receiving individual attention 'pulled' from the mainstream curriculum for the whole of his schedule. At one point there was an attempt to re-introduce him to the mainstream curriculum by placing him, experimentally, in a small Title 1 group. The attempt failed and the student was returned to the Special Education room. He is studying Spanish reading texts at Grade level 3 and he writes at a level equivalent to Grade level 1b. He has some oracy in English but no literacy. He is in his fourth year at the school.

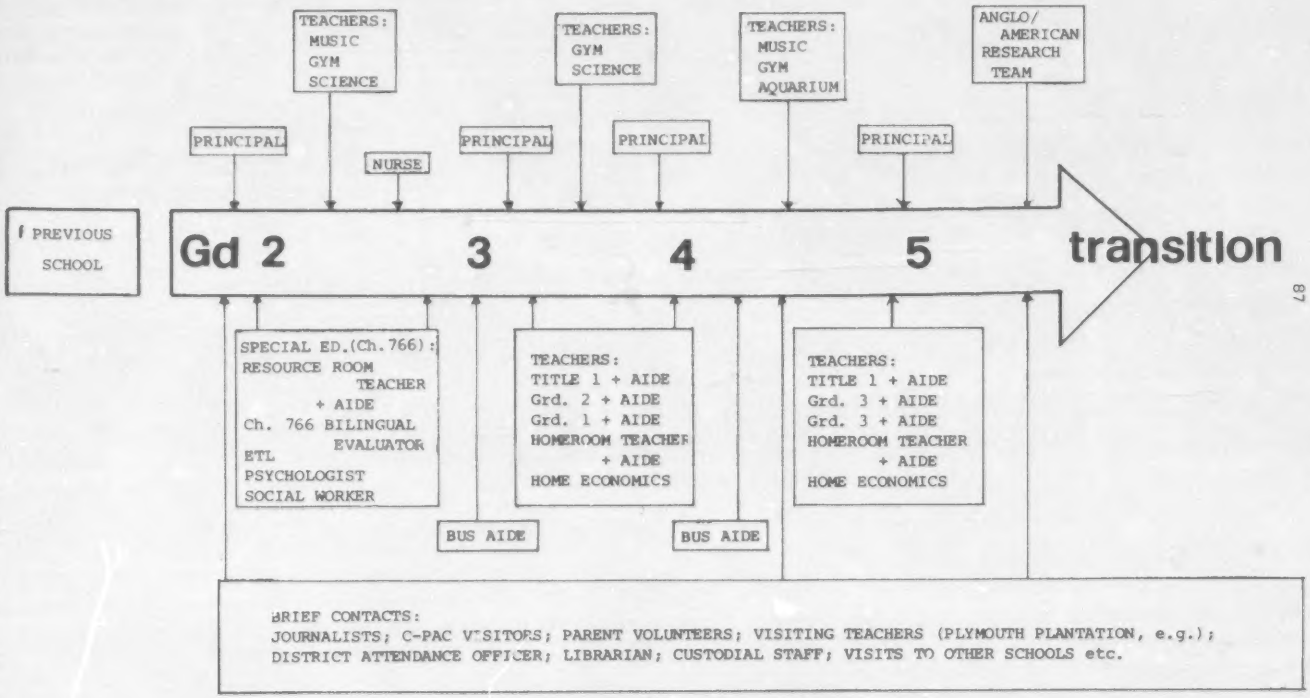
STUDENT B - This student entered the school in the 2nd Grade having come from a school where she was considered to be a serious discipline problem. She was aggressive to her peers who, she claims, made fun of her Hispanic background and accent. She was resistant to the Hernandez teachers' attempts at introducing her to the school and was put into a Special Education Resource Room for her first year. Having settled in she was ready for mainstreaming in her second year. However her unhappy experience at her previous school set her well behind her natural age-group in achievement. She, therefore, spent much of the next eighteen months in supplementary study with Title 1 and is 'levelled' at Grade 3 for English reading. Her Spanish is not fluent and she takes some lessons in SSL studying at Grade level 3. It was only in her second year that she gained confidence and agreed to join her peers on the school bus.

STUDENT C - An English-dominant white student. Her parents sent her to this school in order to learn Spanish. She first attended the school in the Kindergarten and moved into Grade 1 where she progressed well. Though she enjoys Spanish she has never found it easy and attends SSL classes under Title 1. She studies all subjects at Natural Grade level with the exception of Spanish Reading which she takes with a Grade 3 group.

STUDENT D - An English-dominant black student whose mother is black American and father a Puerto Rican. He came to the school six months ago into the 2nd Grade having spent the previous eighteen months firstly in another Boston school and for the most recent seven months in Puerto Rico. The school was as confused as he was on how to place him in appropriate groups. For the final months of the 2nd Grade he was put into the English Resource Room and closely monitored. The next year he was put into a Grade 2 homeroom where he has studied at his (now natural) Grade at that level thoughout with the exception of SSL which he has taken with the Group one Grade level below. He took Title 1 lessons in English reading for the 2nd and 3rd Grade; in the 4th Grade he studied English in a mainstream class but was levelled in Grade 3; in the 5th Grade he studied English at the appropriate Grade level.

Students at the Hernandez School do not enjoy the privacy of elementary classes we are familiar with in Britain where a student spends most of his or her time in an intimate setting with one teacher in one homeroom. We felt it worth recording the contacts our fictional Student B might have - not untypical of real students in the school. The following diagram suggests something of the impact of special programmes and arrangements on an individual student for whom privacy gives way to high levels of attention and support.

student B - adult contacts in school


TEACHERS: MUSIC GYM SCIENCE
TEACHERS: GYM SCIENCE
TEACHERS: MUSIC GYM AQUARIUM
ANGLO/ AMERICAN RESEARCH TEAM
PRINCIPAL
NURSE
PRINCIPAL
PRINCIPAL
PRINCIPAL
PREVIOUS SCHOOL
Gd 2
3
4
5
transition
SPECIAL ED.(Ch.766): RESOURCE ROOM TEACHER + AIDE
Ch. 766 BILINGUAL EVALUATOR
ETL
PSYCHOLOGIST
SOCIAL WORKER
TEACHERS: TITLE 1 + AIDE Grd. 2 + AIDE Grd. 1 + AIDE HOMEROOM TEACHER + AIDE HOME ECONOMICS
TEACHERS: TITLE 1 + AIDE Grd. 3 + AIDE Grd. 3 + AIDE HOMEROOM TEACHER + AIDE HOME ECONOMICS
BUS AIDE
BUS AIDE
BRIEF CONTACTS:
JOURNALISTS; C-PAC VISITORS; PARENT VOLUNTEERS; VISITING TEACHERS (PLYMOUTH PLANTATION, e.g.);
DISTRICT ATTENDANCE OFFICER; LIBRARIAN; CUSTODIAL STAFF; VISITS TO OTHER SCHOOLS etc.

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Maria greets Mariana, a Boston University student, who comes into the school for two days each week to teach Physical Education to each class for one period a week under the Magnet programme. She is a young Cuban who brings considerable energy and charm to the school along with her curriculum expertise.

Part of Maria's style as Principal is to adapt her approach to the many different individuals she meets in the course of her work. Mariana is young, informally dressed and full of enthusiasm and in talking to her Maria becomes herself animated and enthusiastic. She calls to Keith, the Security Aide, "I want you to take Mariana down to Whites Stadium and collect P.E. supplies. Mariana will know what she wants." She turns to Mariana, "Smile," she says, characteristically touching Mariana's forearm, "smile, and you'll get what you need!"

THE MAGNET PROGRAMME - CHAPTER 636

Chapter 636 is a funding mechanism under the State Racial Imbalance Law (1965). The Law authorises the State Board of Education to require districts (such as Boston) operating "racially imbalanced schools" (more than 51% black) to encourage and facilitate voluntary student transfers. It is this legislation that empowers the Board to issue regulations and make grants to plan and implement magnet schools and programmes.

The school has to write proposals for Chapter 636 money. Currently 636-grants include the Aquarium and the Music and Movement programme. An ESEA mini-grant provides for a programme of visits for the Kindergarten to different neighbourhoods in Boston. The Principal claims to be selective in writing grant proposals, looking for projects that will have a direct impact on the students. She is less interested, for instance, in promoting teacher education programmes than in the Aquarium link, which involves student visits to the Aquarium and regular visits of Aquarium staff to the school. Why the Aquarium?

> "Because I think we are weak in science. In all bilingual programmes there is a temptation to concentrate too much on language, on reading and writing especially. I am not saying that those things are not important, but we have to be careful not to forget about science."

"Doesn't getting someone from outside to do it, make it something of a fringe activity; not a central part of the curriculum of the school?"

"No, in writing the grants you have to demonstrate that you are going to do preliminary and follow-up work in the classroom, and the teachers are involved throughout. The people who come from Aquarium work with the teachers; they don't relieve or replace them. And the whole philosophy of the 636 grant is that when the money runs out, the links will remain. Our link with Boston University especially is meant to continue."

While P.E. appears on the school curriculum by virtue of 636, other specialist subjects are made available by the school system as a matter of course - though it seems that which particular subjects appear depends somewhat on outside support. For example, last year the school had a visiting science specialist, but subsequently lost the allocation. It was only reinstated following a campaign in protest waged by the school, the parents and the students (who wrote letters to the Superintendent).

How important is "magnet-status" to the school? Maria justifies it mainly in terms of a 'halo' effect:

"I think it's a really nice concept. I think that to be set out as being special makes you work to be special, it's like the goal defining the function, so I think it really works. I think this school is a lot nicer - but don't quote me - than the (named school) or the (named school). Okay, I think there's a certain amount of excitement in being part of an experiment, of having a special goal."

"Do you think that is communicated to the children or the parents?"

"I think to the parents a little bit, because they realise that this is a magnet school, that we have extra programmes, and when they come to choose they choose this over a community school, so it is communicated to parents. It is communicated to children in a different way, I think the kids like the school. For example, I have a case of a family that, I can't believe that, that a parent would let a child choose schools, okay? So the child ended up at the (named school). Well, this year she was supposed to be a 5th Grader here, but she wanted to be with her girl-friend, so she went to the (named school) instead. So she is very sad now and wants to come back here, because they don't have that. So I think it is communicated to the kids too through the special services that they get, that they wouldn't get some place else."

Boston zip codes

Home address of students by ZIP code

	Zip (last two digits only)	Area	Number of students
	18	Station A	7
*	19	Roxbury	22
	20	Roxbury Crossing	10
*	21	Grove Hall	29
	22	Dorchester	11
	23	Astor	-
*	24	Dorchester Centre	26
*	25	Uphams Corner	82
	26	Mattapan	7
	27	S Boston	2
	30	Jamaica Plain	9
	31	Roslindale	2
	32	W.Roxbury	1
	34	Alston	1
	35	Brighton	1

* These areas are those immediately adjacent to the school. The catchment area for the RH is School District 9, which is the whole of Boston City area, as with the rest of the Magnet programme. Even so, two-thirds of the students come from within a two-mile radius of the school.

The secretary comes into the office and explains (quietly) to Maria that a woman has arrived from the local branch of the Boston Public Library. Apparently, she should have come two weeks ago, but forgot. Maria writes a note to one of the teachers and then goes into Sheila's Grade 5 class (which has a connecting door with the secretary's room).

Sheila is at the board conducting a class lesson with characteristic verve and humour. The children have pulled their seats up to sit around the board. Margareta, the aide, sits at her desk, next to Sheila's. As Maria comes in Sheila looks up and Maria asks if it would be convenient for the woman from the Library to come into her class first.

Back in the office, Maria takes a phone call in Spanish. The attendance officer is trying to trace addresses of families. She spends some time talking to him and explains to me later that he is extraordinarily good at his job. Some attendance officers sit at their desks all day, but he gets out on the streets and into the homes and makes an effort to trace children. She has time for him, she says.

Sally, the secretary, comes into the office to ask Maria about calling in the figures on school lunches to the office. Almost all the children are on school lunches, Maria explains, but to get them, parents have to fill in a long complicated form, and as these forms are difficult to get completed and signed, the school has to help the parents to make the claim.

The door bell rings. Sally goes to the door to take delivery of a film one of the teachers has ordered.

Sheila comes through the office with the Library visitor who moves on to Paula's class.

Maria is dealing with some papers which register children for the Kindergarten class. She explains that it is important for the Bureau of Assignments, who are responsible for placing children in school, to have positive proof of family addresses. This is because allocation to a Magnet School depends in part on residence. "I don't have any children from Back Bay," Maria explains, "If you were living in Back Bay and wanted your children to come here, there'd be no trouble."

Problems arise because people new to the city often don't have the kind of proof of address that is needed. "It often takes a month or so for people to get rent receipts, and they don't like to ask for them in case it causes trouble." Normally, Maria would try to get such proof but if it is not available she will sign her name across the form to say, in effect, that she is taking responsibility for verifying the accuracy of the address given. She signs two of these forms now, because she wants the children to be in school and does not want to have to wait for the full administrative process.

THE ASSIGNMENT OF STUDENTS TO THE SCHOOL

Maria: "What happens is that at the end of this school year we're going to have 25 empty seats, because Sheila's (5th Grade) class leaves. Then we're going to have some kids that are lost by attrition, they're moving ... whatever. At that point, they could choose to fill it with only 1st Graders, but they don't. The computer is not that wise. The computer fills it with whoever has applied by race, by grade, by zone in the city, etc. So we can get - those thirty new slots can be filled with people for 5th Grade as well as for 1st Grade."

The Rafael Hernandez has to show an ethnic balance approaching 65% Hispanic, and, in equal proportions, 35% of Black and White. They also have to fit in with the city-wide racial 'balancing act', even though, being a bilingual school, they are allowed greater flexibility in establishing the racial balance than the other magnet schools. That 'balancing act' involves reassignments each year and is handled by computer. The figures are complicated by the fact that the assignment of students to a racial category is done by the parents when completing the application. So, for instance, a white mother of a mixed-race child may put 'white' in answer to the question of racial type. More subtly a parent wanting to secure a place for her child may realise that where there is such ambiguity "white" and "English-speaking" characteristics are likely to increase the child's chance of assignment to this particular school.

The result of all of these factors is a population of students which fluctuates from year to year and which the school can never rely upon until the 'eleventh hour'. When the Kindergarten invited parents in to watch their little graduation ceremony at the end of the year, no-one (parents or teachers) knew whether the children who wished to would be coming back to the school for the 1st Grade.

Assignments can be a problem for any school but the problems can be particularly severe for a bilingual school. It is not until September that the Hernandez staff know what language mix the 1st Grade is going to show. To compound that, attempts to balance the school's racial mix do not necessarily take into account language dominance across the Grades. Hence, this year has seen a large number of new assignments to the 5th

Grade and a 1st Grade which is almost entirely Spanish-dominant. This exerts great pressure on an already over-stretched student scheduling system.

Furthermore, depending upon the Grade distribution of new assignments, the school might find itself with an overcrowded age group. This year (and perhaps this year only) the age groups which constitute the 1st and 3rd Grades, are large enough to merit two classes in each. That does not necessarily mean that next year's 2nd and 4th Grades will have two classes. One immediate effect of this is to make the primary/elementary boundary in the school variable. The boundary is a loose administrative device for dividing responsibilities and depending upon the absolute distribution of students at the 'top' and 'bottom' ends of the school, the 3rd Grade might one year be a primary Grade and the next year an elementary Grade.

The problem of assignments can have direct implications for the educational programme. The school puts a great deal of effort into standardising the curriculum - mapping a common and extended educational experience for all of its students which, theoretically, at least, could last from Kindergarten 1 through to 5th Grade. As the curriculum becomes more closely defined as a vertical sequence, articulating all Grades and all levels, it makes greater sense to hold on to students for successive years in order to capitalise on early educational investments. As a result of assignments, only about one half of the Kindergarten students move into the school's 1st Grade. By the time we get to this year's 2nd Grade, there are only eight students who were in Kindergarten.

The school is constantly pressured into coping with the assignment process and one recourse is to define and rationalise the curriculum more closely. Hence, the extensive supplementary and remedial resources available throughout the school are aimed at taking a wide variety of abilities, experiences and needs and reducing them to a common base for achievement. If the school did not have a high proportion (one quarter) of Special Education students, it would probably still need specialised teachers to offer remedial assistance to students assigned to the school regardless of a mismatch between their assigned grade and their literacy skills.

The school learns to cope as problems emerge, solving them year-by-year and day-to-day. But some problems reappear. This year, as a consequence of a particularly idiosyncratic set of assignments four years ago, the school is having to mainstream a very large group of Spanish-dominant Special Needs students from the Spanish Resource Room in order to give them English reading for the first time in their school careers. It is a serious and demanding problem since Special Needs students generally find it difficult to adjust to large classes after the experience of small-group teaching under Chapter 766 (Special Education). The assignments problem makes demands on resources already committed to dealing with the severe social problems inevitably associated with such a population of students as this magnet school attracts.

Maria calls something to a small black boy named Henri in the corridor. "Is he French speaking?", we ask. "Yes," she says, "the school has one or two Haitian children. They shouldn't really be there. But the parents mostly live in the neighbourhood and don't want them bused. So, when they come to send the registration forms in, they write "English" under language and so they come here rather than into the French bi-lingual programme."

Each teacher keeps a note of attendance which Maria checks daily. She knows from the pattern and from knowing the children and the families which cases are likely to be illness and which due to other reasons. Yesterday's attendance was 97%. As she goes through the teacher's records for the day, she tells us some of the stories that lie behind the marks on the page. "Been away three days - is sick, in hospital. Here are two kids we can't find. The mother registered them with us and said she wanted them to come to the school, but they didn't turn up at the start of the year. The mother said they were in Puerto Rico, there had been a hurricane, the plane was delayed. Then she said they were coming but had to wait in line for a plane."

Maria tells us about Alfonso, the District 9 attendance officer she had spoken to on the phone earlier. He checks all the bilingual families. Until last year he worked only with the High School attendance but now he takes on elementary school cases also. There is a system of attendance cards, which Mary says is "useless!" because it is merely an administrative procedure that no-one follows up. But Alfonso gets out to the families, goes round the homes.

We ask Maria about problems that follow from families moving back and forward between Boston and the island. She takes a strong line. "The parents have to be made to see it is irresponsible. Sometimes they register their children in the First Grade and then don't turn up until Christmas. You can't do that, I tell them, you might have reasons for wanting to go back, but you have to think about your children and their education." Another story about two white children from Brighton. "I am sure when the mother applied to send them here she didn't know where the school was and how far they would have to travel each day ... but I can't be seen to interfere."

"We had a little boy recently who used to come to school brought by his brother. There was a bus to bring him that stopped only two blocks from his home, but every day his brother brought him, and because his brother didn't like to get up early it would sometimes be 11 o'clock before he arrived here. I called up the mother and told her to put him on the bus, but the brother still brought him in. Then one day, I told them I was going to put him on the bus home. I went out in the afternoon and took the boy to the bus and told the bus aide and told his brother. Ever since then he has arrived every morning on the bus. He was just frightened of it. He had this fear, but once he'd been on the bus and knew it was alright, then he was okay. When it comes to getting to school, I'd much rather depend on the kids. They get up early and once they overcome these fears, they are much more reliable.

One of our recurring impressions of the school was of its lack of serious discipline incidents. This is in spite of having to work with student groups subject to year-by-year fluctuation and often made up of children who have experienced discipline problems elsewhere. Maria talked to us about the problems:

> "I think that unfortunately, one of the things that parents play with sometimes, and kids play with, is that "if I don't like this school, I'll go to another", so we have, for example, in the 5th Grade, two kids who have been to five or six schools, because they have discipline problems in some way, not completely but occasionally, I mean, they happen to have a mother who is more difficult than they are, because I have tried to deal with her many times. So when they were in 1st Grade, somebody complained that the kids had a rough mouth or something, so she put them in

another school, so the kids have really been totally uprooted, and I think that's one of the bad things about the racial balance thing, that you can, in fact, choose to change schools, and that's bad."

"So you never cope with your problems?"

"You just take them along to the next school, that's right, which I think is bad, because I think also for the school psychologically it's bad, because you kind of - I think it's wrong to ever hope that a kid will leave, as teachers and principals I think you have to feel that when you get them, you are stuck with them and they are stuck with you and that's it, and you have to keep on."

"When parents come to you as principal and say that they might move their children, do you try to dissuade them, unless there's a really good reason?"

"I can't dissuade them, I'm forbidden to. I am not supposed to interfere in that whose process, this is supposed to be from the parent and booklet, so you know I can't tell the parent what to do."

"But you can ask for the reason?"

"No. They send the booklet saying they want another school. I mean, I see it, okay, I can think of a case last year of a child that was in Susan's room, 2nd Grade. Now this happened to be a pretty difficult child. No, not really difficult but not the easiest kid in the world. So he went to 1st Grade, the mother had a few encounters with Wendy, she didn't like anybody to complain about her kid, but she left him here in 2nd Grade. So in 2nd Grade, he also had discipline problems, so she changed him to another school. What can I say? I can't tell her not to, I am not supposed to participate in the process at all. Well, good luck to her, that's all I can say, I mean, I hope he does better wherever he goes. Chances are he will do worse, okay, because here he was in a fairly protective kind of environment."

Maria's next job is to take some teacher- and aide paychecks round the school. The tour has a touch of ceremonial about it. One of the teachers said later that she liked Maria to bring her paycheck because in her last school, you only saw the Principal when the news was bad! Maria uses the opportunity to tour the school and to show me round.

Past Sheila's room on the right is a store cupboard, kept locked, then Room 10, a Special Education class, a small classroom set back down a short corridor. Eva and her aide work in Spanish and English with small

groups of six to eight Hispanic children in a room, that, though small, is a room that houses Special Education students, and any visitor is likely to be a source of attention, the classroom door is almost always left open.

SPECIAL EDUCATION (CHAPTER 766, STATE; PUBLIC LAW 94-142, FEDERAL)

SPECIAL NEEDS STUDENTS BY RACE

	Hispanic	Black	White	Native American	Oriental	Total
Mainstream	31	10	3	0	0	44
Substantially separated	6	0	0	0	0	6

Chapter 766 is the State Law which requires each school system to develop and provide educational programmes for special needs.

Elsewhere in Boston, Special Education is becoming a source of concern as teachers learn that they can off-load difficult children arbitrarily from the regular classroom into Chapter 766 classes. This is less of a concern to the Evaluation Team Leader, an Hispanic woman, as she comes into the Rafael Hernandez for two days each week to coordinate referrals to the programme. This school is one in which she does not expect to find this practice of 'off-loading'.

The rigour with which the school provides individualised services to all its students in order to maintain those curriculum objectives derived from the transitional requirement, guarantees the special programmes a central role in supporting bilingual objectives. Hence the Principal characterises Special Education as a 'transitional' programme within the school - its main aim being to re-route into the school's bilingual programme those students who will have been withdrawn for two or three years.

Students in Special Education classes are withdrawn from the bilingual programme for proportions of their schedule according to assessed need. This process is legally specified and dominated by assessment procedures involving parents alongside specialist professionals.

Each student referred to Special Education is assessed and allotted a "prototype" rating which indicates the proportion of the school day he or she will spend in the Special Education programme. The five prototypes which concern the school are:

Point 1 Student stays in his/her normal classes but is closely monitored.
Point 2 Student is 'pulled' out for up to 25% of the school day.
Point 3 Student is 'pulled' out for between 25% and 60% of the day.
Point 4 Student is 'pulled' out for between 60% and 100% of the day.
Point 5 Student is withdrawn from the school to a special setting.

One of the main criteria for withdrawing students from regular classes is an inability to learn as a member of a large class - Special Education classes are all small groups of no more than eight. One consequence is that re-routing of these students into the bilingual programme can present problems and they may have to be 'eased' back through similarly small groups. The Resource Room acts as a staging post between Special Education and bilingual classes.

Such movements are closely regulated by legal and bureaucratic processes which can involve considerable commitment of time by the teachers and lengthy delays in processing cases - often leaving a child waiting for specialist services. The goal is to move each student to a 'less restricted prototype' (e.g. from Point 3 down to Point 2). Moving 'down' in this sense is not difficult since the Special Education teacher is always able to do it while working within the individual objectives plan.

Moving 'up' where there is a need, is less easy. From referral to core evaluation (where the full need is assessed and a plan drawn up for remedy) is supposed to take place within thirty days. In practice, it usually takes very much longer. The core evaluation involves a meeting with the school, the evaluation team leader and the parent and other professionals (psychologist, social worker, etc.) and such a meeting may take time to arrange (all transactions have to take place in the dominant language of the parent). No remedial action can be taken in the meanwhile since the law requires the teacher to work solely on the basis of an agreed 'plan' and, at the first referral stage, the Special Education teacher is not involved - again, since there is no plan as yet. The

situation is exacerbated by recent regulations which shift responsibility for paperwork to the Special Education teacher from the homeroom teacher. Given duties in assessment, interim and core evaluations, parent contact, reports to the office of Special Services, etc., Special Education teachers at the Rafael Hernandez encounter aspects of bureaucratic process which seriously intrude on their teaching function. One of the teachers feels she can only get this message through to central office by purposely failing to send in reports in order to free time for teaching.

EVA's SPECIAL EDUCATION CLASS

Eva's room is of particular interest since she teaches those students removed for most of the day from regular classes. The children are all Hispanic and monolingual.

Eva is highly trained. She was certificated in Primary and Elementary education in Argentina, her home country. Since coming to the U.S. she has taken a Bachelor's in Elementary Bilingual Education and a Master's in Bilingual Special Education, and has almost completed a second Master's developing that work. She has further qualifications in music and ballet.

Leonora, the aide, is Eva's mother. She studied in Argentina and qualified there to teach arts and crafts. Eva encouraged her when she was considering teaching and Leonora started as a volunteer aide, tutoring Spanish-speaking children. She then took an aide's training course and elected to go for a Special Education post, again encouraged by Eva, who felt that her arts and crafts background suited her ideally. When Eva came to Rafael Hernandez, she found that she had been assigned a male South American aide. Eventually, a mutually-agreeable swap was effected with Leonora who had been assigned to a Middle School. Eva's aide and Leonora simply changed places. Leonora's command of Spanish grammar and syntax is an asset for the class materials development, extracting reading drills and selecting vocabulary exercises to supplement the curriculum materials.

We spent about ninety minutes in Eva's room talking to her about a small group of six students. We sat at the desk whilst Leonora took the class.

Eva explained that our presence was not disruptive since Leonora knew exactly what to do - almost word for word. That is important to note. Each morning, to get the students accustomed to classroom participation, Eva uses a routine of talk-and-response. Hence, she will start the day with the same range of instructions couched in the same phrases. "Sit at your desks", 'Get your pencils out", etc. She considered that the "key to development in reading and other learning is language and the key to language is the experience of language." Leonora knows the routine and moved through it quietly and efficiently as Eva talked. The class was quiet throughout and the level of attentiveness varied according to what seemed to be the ability of the child to confront the task. Only one child had severe problems in that respect and, as Eva pointed out, he will tend to sit 'in something of a daze' observing from a distance what was going on. Had we not been there, Leonora would have been giving him his regular and intensive individual support.

Eva explained that her major goal is to return her students into the bilingual programme - to lose them even though she might get emotionally attached to them. She and Leonora teach the full range of subjects, including Social Studies (and the students see all of the specialist teachers) so that the students are still able to progress through the main bilingual programme. The process of returning is rarely easy and not always straightforward. Two of the current group had been partially mainstreamed last year but were now back after encountering problems in adjusting to a larger class. As a rule, early returning will be in non-academic areas such as music and gym, though Eva knows that some of her group are clearly able in Maths and English.

Much of the work in the unit is based upon the assumption that students have learning, rather than attainment, problems and that includes problems in relating to the learning milieu. Getting one of the students to clean the board - something Leonora spent a few minutes setting up - is seen as a significant device to allow him to participate in a general classroom activity.

Ahead is the custodian's room. Keith, the security aide, a large black man who moves around the school with surprising speed and known affectionately to the children as "big foot", is talking with the custodian.

They both smile and say 'Hi' as we pass. We turn sharp right, through a further set of doors, which are again kept open, into the central area. On the left, milk crates, stacks of Alcan wrapped lunches and a vacuum cleaner mark the location of the kitchen. Immediately on the right is the library, an area marked out of the open area by bookshelves. A wide range of books in English and Spanish, Dr.Seuss and Charlie Brown (in English) and Robin Hood and Tom Sawyer (in Spanish) catch the eye. One of the classroom aides is in the library looking through Spanish story books. Above us on the wall, a portrait of Rafael Hernandez, and on the left hand wall the American flag, underneath it, at the point where breakfasts and lunches are dispersed, are some posters made by the children. One says, "I like meat because it keeps me neat". Beyond the kitchen are the boys' and girls' bathrooms. To the right, and adjacent to the library area, is Christine's Special Education class; Susan, the 2nd Grade homeroom teacher is with her (Susan has a student teacher in her room and wants to leave her on her own for a while). Christine and Susan are laughing and joking about something.

Maria has a word with Christine about a charity meeting (United Way) she is going to attend in Maria's place. We ask if Maria chose to be involved in the scheme. No, she says, it was a school committee decision. The school committee decided that Boston Public Schools would participate, and so every school has to attend the meeting and is given a target for its contribution to the fund raising. Last year their target was $20.

Continuing down the side of the open area, takes us past the nurse's room, where, in the outer office, the Evaluation Team Leader is on the phone talking to a parent in Spanish. Maria calls into the nurse's office. The nurse is here two days a week and her problem at the moment is making sure that all the children in the school have documentary proof of having had their baby shots (diptheria, tetanus, measles, etc.) Without this, the Public Health Office says they cannot attend school. Several children risk exclusion, not necessarily because they have not been immunised but because they have not produced evidence of immunisation. Maria and the nurse go through the list of children in this category and discuss what to do about each case.

Next, the teachers lounge, at the moment empty, but busy at lunch-time

and after school, and in the mornings too, when some of the aides use the stove to cook breakfast.

THE AIDES

The aides play a more important part in the life of the school than their occupational status might suggest. In a school where links with community, parents and minority culture are stressed, the aides, who tend to represent these aspects of the school's facade from within, are invested with symbolic significance. To consider just one aspect of their importance for the school - it is the aides, more perhaps than other groups in the school, who show what might be achieved by those students who succeed. In the press for bilingual education, those aides who are still studying for further qualifications, mark the new position of the frontier. It is on the basis of their achievements that the next generation are expected to press further ahead.

Though both teachers and aides at Rafael Hernandez tend to have considerable bilingual teaching experience behind them, the teachers, as a group, tend to be more stable. There are a number of reasons. First, aides tend to be reassigned to different schools regularly, and, though Maria is able to hold on to them once they reach Hernandez, some of them still half-expect to be moved on. Then there is the differential status. The teachers are on career grades, enjoy a salary, and, usually, tenure, whereas the aides are paid on a part-time basis. Though most aides have taken education courses, some may take on the job for non-career reasons (to 'get out of the house', or to earn extra money, etc.). Given the lack of status the aide is unable to depend upon the job and often cannot assume continuity. And this is in addition to specific cultural problems some Hispanic aides encounter such as women coming under pressure from husbands to stay in the house. One or two aides have left teaching on occasions and returned, having taken temporary employment outside education.

The role of the aide is a difficult one to describe as it is individually and personally negotiated rather than contained in a job description. In this school more is generally expected of the aides than in most schools, although clearly there are differences from class to class in the scope and independence. In some classes the aides have an informal status as

"co-teachers". As one of the aides put it "You can't tell where the teacher ends and the aide begins." On the other hand many of the aides are sceptical, even cynical about the notion of their status as "para-professionals". Another made a strongly felt statement: "We are employees. Everywhere we go we are employees. We have no name. We are employees of the city. We don't have nothing to do with the school system." But we couldn't decide whether she was making a statement of fact about the way aides are treated, or a statement about the way she sees the role of the aide necessarily carrying minimal educational responsibilities. Perhaps the former because she went on to say: "In the classroom you are somebody. Sweeping floors you are an employee. But in the classroom you are somebody."

This in part reflects the aides' awareness that as Spanish speakers they are often treated outside school as archetypal "immigrants". Naturally those who have lived on the U.S. mainland for twenty five years feel some resentment at this, as do South Americans taken to be Puerto Ricans. One of the aides told us a story that made the point. She had observed an incident in the city where a Greek had been arrested on suspicion of planting a bomb, but later that evening Channel 4 news reported him as being Puerto Rican. "I suppose he had a moustache, didn't speak much English, so they just said he was from Puerto Rico."

How much of the aides identity outside school enters into what they are and what they do inside is a critical question and not one easily answered. Clearly there is a level of "professionalism"; a sense of a job to be done, which may override cultural considerations. How much, and how the culture does transfer is not easily accessible and was difficult for us to tell in this study, though it was clear that many of the aides took the view that the school had the responsibility of teaching American values to Hispanic youth. But the aides are a diverse group, of course.

Margareta, now settled in the Hernandez as the 5th Grade aide, has three children and a husband whom she persuaded into the same occupation in another school. She came to Boston from Puerto Rico as a teenager in 1968, took evening classes for two years at the English Language Centre (formerly the English Americanisation School that prepared immigrants for the citizenship examination) and proceeded to high school, graduating in

1972, one of only a handful of Puerto Ricans to do so in the early seventies. She has experienced the improvements in the conditions and remuneration of the para-professional staff from her early years as an aide, when they were poorly and tardily paid, unorganised and without access to professional development opportunities.

So has Josefina, Catalina's aide, who can remember the very early days when she would join others in knocking on the doors of Puerto Rican immigrants persuading them to send their children to school. That school was Denison House and Josefina taught there as one of the first bilingual teacher-aides in Boston. At that time she remembers being left in charge of classes occasionally covering for teachers. Now, and as yet without required teacher qualifications, the professionalisation of her role prevents her from enjoying that responsibility - although she has her own teaching groups in Catalina's classes.

Aides working conditions still vary considerably from teachers'. They work to contracts, albeit annual contracts with no necessary assurance of renewal; and they can be (and are) moved from school to school - sometimes as frequently as each one or two years.

Lilia is Fernanda's aide on Title 1. She comes from the Dominican Republic which she left in 1974 when she went with her family to live in Puerto Rico. Three years later they came to Boston, and Lilia began to study at Boston State College. Now, after three years evening study, she is about to graduate with a Bachelor's in Science and elementary teaching - she started in science but became attracted to teaching half-way through. Lilia became an aide after her supervisor had suggested it. She went for an interview and a test and was taken on immediately - without a training course and without a bilingual test since it was assumed that her attendance at BS qualified her in English. She worked at two other schools before she was asked if she would like to be moved to the Rafael Hernandez, and she jumped at the chance. Lilia says she is paid fairly well for two reasons, a) she receives increments for her college credits taking her up to $700 per month, and b) as a Title 1 aide she is eligible to collect unemployment benefit during the summer months. Other aides are eligible from this year but Emilio said that he had previously been forced to take summer jobs to make ends meet and was not aware that Title 1 aides have always been able to collect unemployment benefit.

Relative to other schools it would seem that the aides are a stable group, a fact that is attributed to Maria's ability to argue for the aides she wants, and to keep the ones she has.

Lilia feels that aides at the school have far greater educative responsibilities than at other schools. She teaches students in Title 1, though under Fernanda's direction and she characterises her role as support and reinforcement for the teacher. Like a number of aides she values that role, since it gives her the opportunity to engage in teaching without the responsibility for organising it. She is, in fact, ambivalent about taking responsibility when she becomes a teacher next year - though she is clearly looking forward to the new job.

Shortly she will be required to take a 16-week teaching practice in order to qualify and she is adamant about doing this in a bilingual programme. She has to be adamant since this is being hotly resisted by her supervisors at Boston State. Their view, she says, is that the quality of education in bilingual programmes is too poor to sustain teaching practice, and that bilingual provision is probably a short-term policy priority and not an adequate basis for a future teaching career. Lilia has spent a lot of energy fighting the point and as a concession she might be able to do 8 weeks in a bilingual programme and the other 8 weeks in a regular programme. The 8 weeks bilingual could be at Hernandez but she would then be in the anomalous position of continuing in her current role but receiving no money. She is prepared for that, however, since she lives at home and her parents will support her. Besides - with the prospect of becoming a teacher next session this would be a sound investment for the family.

EMILIO AND ROSARIA - TWO POINTS OF VIEW

Emilio

Emilio is working as an aide in the school while taking courses at university. He began studying medical sciences with aspirations towards becoming a doctor, but he is increasingly becoming interested in education.

> "Maybe we have enough doctors. The more I talk to my friends, the more I find education fascinating - there is just as much ground to be opened, just as many breakthroughs to be made in education as in medicine."

Emilio came from Puerto Rico with his mother when he was eight and went to school in New York City, where he lived for fifteen years. He does not rate the education he received from the public schools at that time very highly.

> "The main intention of the schools was to create another generation of dishwashers. They had no interest in my advance. Ninety-five per cent of what I know I have taught myself."

Perhaps more important was the effect of schooling on his sense of identity. He grew to feel ashamed and even disgusted at his own cultural identity.

> "I grew up as a boy scout. I pledged allegiance to the flag. I wanted to be anything but a Puerto Rican."

Emilio's own story is a salutary one for advocates of transitional programmes. He is bilingual, and despite his disadvantaged start, has found his way through to a university education. But behind this, lies a series of life crises that follow directly from his developed ability to move easily between two cultures. Five years ago, having achieved a measure of familiarity with American culture, he returned to Puerto Rico, but the Puerto Rico that he wanted to return to, was a nation not a colony. Because of his views, which were developing a sharper political edge he ran into conflict with his family and eventually returned to the U.S. mainland. Looking for a new place to start, he came to Boston with six hundred dollars, found the job in the school and began studying for teaching qualifications. One of his main reasons for returning to the mainland was to complete his education, something that was impossible to do in Puerto Rico without more money.

Emilio seems propelled towards radical political views in part because, having achieved 'bicultural competence', he still finds an identity in either of his two societies elusive and difficult to achieve. His political views are in consequence global rather than local, including a belief that his own race is genetically superior because of the wide catchment area of gene pool, and a view of a unified Latin America historically divided by colonial domination.

Knowing some of Emilio's views might suggest that his professional conduct in the school might be identifiably different to that of other teachers

and aides. This is not the case, however. His political views he reserves for other arenas outside of school, and he chooses to keep them separate. "What else can you do? You go in and you do your job, and there is nothing else you can do." He is not, for example, involved in social studies teaching, though he is highly knowledgeable in that area of the curriculum.

The school treats him with some caution. The one noticeable characteristic of his teaching style is that the children, especially the Puerto Rican children, usually call him "Mr.Sanchez" and not "Emilio". When we asked him about this, wondering if it was his preference, or because he was a man, he said it was mainly on the children's initiative, and that it was really a case of some children choosing to call him by his family name. "It is really important to some of them. They show they identify with me. They like to see me as one of their people."

Rosaria

Rosaria is Puerto Rican and came here with her family when she was still quite young. "I had an argument with my boyfriend in Puerto Rico and I said I'm going to leave - and that's why I came here!" For Rosario, America has much to offer. She is vibrant, laughs a great deal and presents herself as a happy, noisy person. She has a liking for music and food and 'get togethers'. When she went back to Puerto Rico a couple of years ago - for the first time in fifteen years - she had to cut short her visit and return to Boston. Her parents had bought a house in the country and the life was isolated - Rosaria could find no friends and found rural life oppressive. Now she is convinced that she could not live on the Island unless she had enough money to set up a business.

Not that Rosaria lacks pride in the Island. If asked, she says that she is Puerto Rican and she is concerned to impress that upon those Puerto Rican children who come to the school having been influenced by parents who "learn two or three words in English and think they are American." She will tell children in class that even though they were born in the USA their ancestors came from the Island and they should be proud of that background.

When Rosaria first went to work in the USA it was to a factory where she worked with other Hispanics and, for a number of years, spoke only Spanish. She decided to leave and take a job that would force her to speak English.

In the Italian North End, she learned English quickly. She had some help - "I always went out with American guys, and that's how I learned my English!" With a bilingual proficiency Rosaria could go back to school which she did at Roxbury Community College where she studied education up to the point when her husband preferred her to leave and spend more time at home. She still intends to finish the course (possibly next year) and qualify as a teacher.

Not that she necessarily intends to teach. Rosaria is not too happy with the propspect of taking full responsibility as a teacher. She feels that discipline is too slack and that she would not have the freedom to run a class the way she would want. "In my country, if one kid gets fresh with the teacher - he really gets it. Not here. Here if the teacher does something like that, then they take you to court." As an aide, Rosaria can work with small groups - she is Juliet's aide and Title 1 classes are small - and she can handle discipline in her own way on a one-to-one basis. Taking a whole class would be a different prospect. "If I had to work with 24 kids - I'm pretty sure I'm going to kill one of them!"

Rosaria occupies a special place at the Hernandez. She has been here for three years and is well established and her wide range of skills makes her a sought-after person. Her confidence and fluency in English allow the Principal to call upon her as a substitute when the school secretary is absent; her artistic talents lead teachers to call upon her to produce murals and art work for parties and fiestas; her training as a hairdresser means that she is often to be seen styling hair in the staffroom (as well as cutting the hair of British observers visiting the school!).

What of Emilio and his aspirations? "He wants for Puerto Rico to be free from the U.S. - but I think that can't work ... Puerto Rico is so small, the people of Puerto Rico can't live on what they produce there." Rosaria wonders why Puerto Rican radicals complain so much about the USA and continue to live here, and continue to come here. Rosaria will worship the Puerto Rican ideal in her own way, and will admire the Island - from the mainland.

Through a set of double doors, the corridor forks at this point. On the left, is a small room and though the door is closed, the teacher can be

heard talking in Spanish as we pass. This is the Spanish Resource Room whose teacher, Montserrat, is Cuban and the sister of Catalina. Montserrat was recently voted Boston and then Massachusetts Teacher of the Year. On her door is one of the signs of cultural continuity that pervades the school at this time, a pumpkin and a black cat. In most Elementary Schools, the calendar of the seasons rolls along trailing the curriculum in its wake, and it seems bilingual schools are no exception.

Back in the office a phone call. A railroad runs right behind the school and has been disused, but is being reopened temporarily. The phone call concerns informing parents and children about the dangers of crossing or playing on the track.

The phone rings again. Another Principal has called to say he has a child missing he is trying to locate. Every week each school receives a computer print-out giving the names and addresses of all the children who should be in school, along with a punched card for each child. Maria has to check the list and return to the office all those cards of children who are in school. The cards that are left represent problems to be solved. Maria checks her print-out. The child missing from the other school, has appeared at her school but the print-out has not yet registered the change. She explains to the other Principal and writes a note to the Bureau of Assignments asking for a correction to be made.

Maria writes a log, a notebook, on her desk, where she records things she has done that she might otherwise lose track of. If she had a xerox she would keep copies of letters and memos she sends out. Do you feel the need for a xerox machine? we ask. Not really, she says, you can collect too much paper. We hadn't noticed before but there is a surprising lack of filing space in the office. Two filing cabinets seem to contain everything.

"How do you get to learn to be a Principal?" we ask Maria. "By doing it," she says. She has a Master's in Educational Administration from Northeastern, and she says she got a lot of help from other principals whom she called up when she had a problem she didn't know how to handle. "But in the end," she says, "you can only learn the job by doing it."

Before coming to the school, she had worked in the School Committee Office so she knew a lot of people there and had gained some idea how things

looked from their end. The grant writing experience she had gained too was a help. The hardest thing to learn was how to handle discipline problems. "It was a real shock to realise that I was the one in the school who was responsible for discipline. It wasn't something I was prepared for, or enjoyed doing. It is difficult. Sometimes children say, 'My mother has told me to hit anyone who hits me.' We have to get through to the parents and not just handle the problem at the level of the children. That's why I printed the list of the school rules on the information sheet we sent out to the parents." "What are the essential qualities you need for the job,' we ask. "You have to be very organised and fast, if you are going to survive," Maria says. "Luckily I was already pretty well organised, I am that kind of person."

As she comes out of her office, someone says, "There's no paper for the duplicator." Sally, the secretary, says, "Michael only brings in two packs at a time!" The joke is that Keith, the regular security aide, moves much larger quantities without effort.

Sally tells Maria the Librarian has just left. Paula is in the office. "How was it?", Maria asks. "Great, she was really great", says Paula. Sally says to Maria that the immunisation reports are now complete. They both agree that it has been a painful clerical exercise - every year the paperwork gets greater and the nurse has less time.

Maria takes the bell and goes out into the playground, rings the bell and has the children line up as they did earlier. Again, she is constantly talking to individual children just as she does when she walks around the school. "Quiet, quiet", she calls, then walks up to the 5th Grade line. "When the bell rings, you've got to come straight away." As she returns to the office, Sally is repairing a girl's shoe, a nail has come throughthe sole and she is trying to push it back down. "They're new shoes, too, aren't they?", Maria asks, "And pretty too, very like mine." She goes into Sheila's class. As she comes out she says to us, having noticed a couple of boys causing some problems, "Some of these older kids can be very aggressive. There are many reasons why; partly it's their upbringing, some of them don't have terrific home lives."

Back in the office, Maria goes through the minutes of the parents' meeting that Sally has brought in. "The Parent Co-ordinator is a mother in the

school and she has sent us some things to be typed for the next meeting (we meet once a month). There is an election notice and minutes of the last meeting. She always asks me to go through them to edit them, check the spelling and make sure the grammar is okay."

A girl comes into the office followed by some more children. "Where's Christine?", she asks. "Isn't she back yet?", asks Maria. "I sent her to a meeting and I thought she would be back in school by now." She leads the children out to Christine's teaching space in the Open Area, next to the Library. She makes sure they have books and something to do until Christine gets back. She then goes down to the next space where Eliot, the substitute teacher, is working, explains the situation and asks Rosaria, the aide, to go and look after Christine's six children until she gets back.

The phone rings. A parent has called to make a complaint about transportation. Part of the problem, Maria says is that families tend to move around a lot and the system is such that it takes a few days to adjust the buses to meeting the change. We ask Maria if she sees that as her problem, or one that parents should take up with the Transportation Department. "Well ...", she says, "I can't blame them for coming to me, principals have a direct phone connecting them to the Transportation Department, but even on that line you often have to wait 20 or 25 minutes to get through."

Christine returns loaded with bits of paper and posters. "Our target for this year is $100," she says with dismay, "and I don't even like the charities they collect for." Maria talks to her in a calm, serious tone, saying twice, "Don't worry too much about it Christine. Put the notes in the teachers' mail boxes and leave it at that. Don't worry about it. It is up to the teachers whether they contribute or not."

The phone rings. It is the personnel office telling Maria that the music teacher who has been working in the school has been offered a full-time post in a High School. Maria complains, "When he was sent to us at the beginning of the year, you didn't say anything to me about the assignment being temporary." Having registered the complaint, she raises another point. "I still don't have a science specialist. The science teacher we had is on a year long exchange in Puerto Rico and you haven't sent us a replacement yet."

Maria takes a personal phone call.

Just before 12.30 she goes for lunch. She walks through the school and in the corner of Room 7 goes through a door which leads through a large boiler room and out again into what can only be described as a factory. Sharing the building with the school is the plant that provides lunches for all the public schools in Boston. Vast stainless steel sieves of spaghetti containing what we guess must be at least 50 gallons of pasta. And tanks of sauce; thousands of meatballs. The lunches are assembled on a moving line, packed in foil and deep frozen. This particular lunch will appear on the menu on the following Monday in the schools.

In the factory as in the school Maria constantly greets people. In the factory office she xeroxes a couple of sheets of paper (they have an arrangement that she can use the machine when she needs to) and exchanges some social talk. Then she goes into the canteen and gets a sandwich for lunch. There she is joined by Eddy and Michael, two of the custodial staff. Maria seems relaxed. "If I tried to have lunch in the teachers lounge, there would always be work to do, the phone ringing. Here I can eat something in peace and quiet and switch off for a moment, and if I am needed, Sally knows where I am."

Eddy tells us about the boilers. They have to be large for the food processing plant, but they generate more heat than anyone can use. The crazy thing is, he says, that the school is heated by an electric warm air system. If only they would put in a heat exchanger, it would save a considerable amount of money. "Is the heating expensive?", we ask. "Well", Eddy says, "it has cost as much as $28,000 a year." He and Michael tell us too about the security. They had been worried about one of the students who is working with us and whom they saw out in the car park the previous day. We had wondered about the broken glass all over the car park. Cars have been vandalised, they said. And periodically, they have trouble with people being mugged between the school and the car park.

By 1 p.m. Maria is back in the office getting the day's internal mail ready to go to the District 9 Office when one of the aides comes in with two boys who have been fighting in the playground. Maria completes the mail, having sent the aides back, talks to the two boys and returns one of them to his class. The second one, Andy, she keeps back. The phone

rings, Maria answers it, then calls for the security aide on the intercom. She returns to Andy, who has been sitting quietly at the table. "What happens to you if I call your mother, Andy? Well, I'm not going to do that this time, but I am going to give you a punishment that will make you humble. You know what being humble means? You are going to be the last one in the line for a whole week. It's not so great being the first one in line, and for a whole week you are going to be the last, to remind you about not fighting. And I want you to find me the rule and write it out." She gives him the school information booklet and has him find the rule he has infringed.

The phone rings. It must be the Office because Maria again says that she doesn't have a science specialist, and why not? Maria continues the admonition of Andy. She talks quietly and uses a lot of long pauses. He is finally sent on his way at 1.45. We ask Maria if the fact that children call teachers by their first names makes it any harder to discipline them. "No," she says, "It makes no difference at all." We ask what the reasons for the custom are. Maria explains that her previous surname was Geddes, which the Hispanic children found very difficult to say, so they called her Maria, and she thinks it probably spread from that.

A mother phones in about the Title 1 consent form letter.

The best way of solving discipline problems, Maria says, is prevention. Do we think she was too soft with Andy? The pauses, she says, were deliberate. "I like to make sure they are cooled down before I take any action, and besides, Andy is a thoughtful sort of boy. It didn't do him any harm to sit and think about what he was doing."

Maria writes a note to Paula and Sheila explaining as she does so that the phone call she received was from the Science Department, the director has offered some extra physical science and astronomy classes at the Marshall School and will provide the transport. Maria doesn't just drop the note in the office but takes it to Sheila so that they can share a moment of celebration. The phone rings. The Office has arranged a visit to the school by a party from Connecticutt at the end of November.

Every Wednesday, Maria goes through the punched cards that come with the enrolment print-out and returns those cards to the District Office that

designate children who have attended the school. She seems pleased that only a few children have not reported to school.

We ask about the effects of decentralisation. Maria shows us some correspondence between her and the central office. She had written questioning the wisdom of the way the two Kindergarten classes were assigned and suggesting a reversal, the older class attending in the morning and the younger children in the afternoon, making her case on strong educational grounds and emphasising that this would bring the Kindergarten more into line with schedules in the rest of the school. Her letter had been returned from the School Committee Office with a copy of a memo to the District Office explaining that she had breached protocol, and that the new procedure was that she should approach the District Office with such things. Maria's style of operation is to communicate direct to the top of the system. Decentralisation makes it more difficult to do this, increasing the distance between the school and the Central Office.

A note arrives on the desk concerning the appointment of a bilingual evaluator for the 766 (Special Education) children.

Maria tries to call the Bureau of Implementation to organise the inward transfer of a student. "As usual," Maria explains, "the lines are busy."

Keith returns from the District 9 Office. The Office is located in Madison Park High School and he returns with news that is to be on radio and T.V. that evening and in the papers next morning, of a scuffle outside the school, one of a series of racial incidents following the shooting of Daryl Williams. We ask Maria if the back-wash of such incidents ever reaches the school. Hardly ever, she says.

A phone call from one of the absent teachers to explain that her child is ill and she is unlikely to be in school next day.

A teacher comes into the office with some Teachers Union business. After she has left, Maria says "I think we are in for problems with the Union next year, they are busy checking enrolment in the Union and the salary agreement falls due next year."

A memo has come through from the School Committee Office announcing a scheme

whereby schools can write proposals for teacher training money. "Usually, I a very interested in grants," Maria says, "But not this time. Teacher training grants taking teachers into university don't very often have a lasting impact for the school. I prefer grants that make a contribution to the children in school and which support on-site training."

THE SCHOOL, CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND OUTSIDE LINKS

In conversation with teachers :

> There are 'specialists' in curriculum development at Boston University. Isn't it logical, on the face of it, to work with them as specialists in practice to develop curricula?
>
> I can look at a curriculum - I can look at a textbook and say, 'That doesn't pertain to our urban situation, or else it does.' Now I find more things from university levels that do not apply to elementary schools ... I think that any one of us would welcome the chance to go and write curriculum at BU for a year - if we wanted to be out of the classroom, because a lot of us really love the classroom.
>
> The Aquarium is an example of someone who has worked on our curriculum.
>
> Right. You demand of them that they are strong on practice?
>
> You demand of them a sensitivity - an attitude. The Aquarium come in not knowing anything but they are willing to take the time to find out what's going on before they jump in with two feet first telling you what to do.
>
> That's the whole thing. They worked with the teachers - they'd take our suggestions, and they'd ask for them. Now Marje (Aquarium staff) said she had never worked with Kindergarten children before - she had worked mostly with older kids ... nine years olds and over. When I suggested to her that if we had written an Aquarium grant it was for the entire school, she looked at me with great fear. Yet that worked out very well.
>
> You were talking about BU and the summer course which developed the model for Kindergarten organisation? Someone from BU was involved but it was six teachers who wrote it - he was there to coordinate it, working with the teachers. Not coming in and saying he is going to do the curriculum.
>
> You see, he didn't have an expertise. Elementary sort of scared him, in a respect - yet at the time they also couldn't take one of us and have us go and use his intelligence on how to set it up. I mean, don't ask me to go and set up a

curriculum in the form that they do it - I could never do that. I could teach it! But I could never do that! But I would appreciate somebody being able to do the organising of it and bringing it together after the teachers bring all the information and say what should be in it. You know, somehow, I think that Elementary teachers stay at an Elementary level -

(General laughter) Boy! Are we in trouble!

I think it's the priority the system puts on curriculum. If they really thought that curriculum was essential - I don't know how they don't think it is - they would aim to make a concentrated effort. They would say 'let's look for the people within the system who have done it and can do it - let's relieve them for a year, take their experience from the classroom which we know is tried and true and put it down on paper.' That's a commitment, and then I would say, yes, the administration realises that curriculum is a number one priority. But you first of all have to get a federal grant - the system doesn't even support it. When everybody has been washed out during the winter, they make some extra work for teachers to write curriculum - whoever happens to be around ... that's just shoddy stuff, that's saying, 'We'll keep you busy - her's a little bit of extra pay - it's not very important anyway and if it doesn't come out right, we'll get another grant next year and do it all over again.' And that's what we're doing. We just keep reinventing the wheel. So, it has to come from downtown.

The session continues in lively conversation. It is good humoured but serious in its intent. There is some jibing at the university paring arrangements. Nonetheless, it is acknowledged that university pairing still provides a student gym teacher and music teacher without which the school would have some trouble in filling those slots. Otherwise there has been something of a decline in aspirations from the days of early institutional pairing plans to a point at which the school can look forward to BU fulfilling something of its obligation by financing the school picnic and giving a grant for field visits in the Social Studies programme - neither of which carry strings of accountability. The school, for its part, offers placements for student teachers doing their 'practicals'.

Phone call. A family has moved and the school has to arrange for the children to be picked up at a different bus stop. "People never tell us until <u>after</u> they have moved and then there is chaos because it takes a few days to change the bus stop ..." A parent phones in to say there was some trouble at the bus stop this morning. Maria says the bus aide didn't report anything

but that she will check it. A boy called Ralph is brought in complaining about a rash on his forehead. Maria notices too that he has had a nose bleed, but no-one seems to know how that happened. No-one seems to know where the nurse is so Maria takes Ralph to the nurse's room and tells him to sit there and wait until she returns.

Maria goes into Sheila's room and fetches Heather, a 5th Grader, into her office to ask her about the incident on the bus that morning. Apparently, she was rude to one of the fathers. The problem with Heather, Maria explains to me later, is that she looks so much older than her ten years that she gets herself into difficult situations.

2.50 pm. Maria sees the children out to the buses. It takes a good ten minutes to get everyone safely on board and all the minor problems sorted out. Maria doesn't just watch. She leads each group down to their bus and in most cases has a word for the aide or the driver. Some of the children are picked up from school, predominantly, it seems by black older brothers and Hispanic grand-parents.

By 3.10 pm Maria is back in the office and says goodbye to the substitute teachers. Normally, she would stay till about 4 pm but today she is leaving early for an appointment.

Was it a typical day? Not a bad day, she says, a bit more office work than usual because she had got behind with that the last two days.

THE PRINCIPAL's ROLE

In Maria's day, it seems that many of the tasks are routine and, perhaps, trivial. In part, this is because the role of the Principal is, in a metaphorical sense, to patrol the boundaries of the school, mediating between the outside and the institution. We ask Maria if she sees the Principal's job as one primarily of dealing with in-school concerns, or with the outside.

> "I like to be here," she says, "I have turned down a number of requests to be on Boards and Committees because they would mean being out of the school during school time. I have to go down to the District Office once a month for a meeting of all the Principals, but apart from the occasional training workshop, I am in the school the rest of the time."

While Maria sees her role as primarily concerned with the day-to-day running of the school, and with the overall coherence of the school as an educational institution, the teachers see her more as providing a buffer between the school and the outside. The buffer role is one that becomes more and more important for the Hernandez School as administrative and legislative processes bite deeper and deeper into the autonomy traditionally held by local school districts. Currently, teachers in this school do not feel overly constrained from outside and claim a high degree of voluntarism in designing and operating their bilingual programme. However, there are important aspects of the programme over which the school has little or no control. These are the assignment of teachers, aides and pupils and the maintenance of a racial-ethnic balance (the latter determined by the Courts). When vacancies occur on the staff, the School Office assigns the next person named on an approved list of qualified candidates, thus depriving the principal or the school of any selection. A system largely devised to reduce the ethnic bias of some school staffs, and to reflect the seniority principle negotiated by the Boston Teachers Union against a background of school closures and teacher redundancies. "Just how much freedom of action does this leave the principal?", we asked. "Very little," replied Maria.

> When somebody comes here because you need an aide, can you take them around the school and then phone up the office and say, "I can't take this woman, she's no good?"
>
> I've done it, but it's a hassle. One time I did it because I felt 'Oh my God how did I ever get this person.' You see, when sombody gives me the name of the teacher they are going to assign to me, the first thing I ask is, where did she work before? So immediately, I'll call up that school and ask what kind of a person was she? Now if they tell me that she was totally awful, I am kind of prepared. When she arrives, I'm going to watch her very carefully - because to fire anybody, it's just a very hard process.

Maria makes as much use as she can of the little control remaining to her over the appointment of teachers and aides. Often, however, she has to be content with having a teacher at all - as in the case of the Home Economics teacher who was in the unfortunate position of having been assigned to the Hernandez School for bilingual classes (Home Economics is a Homeroom subject) but with no bilingual experience.

Because there was more freedom of action in previous years, there is a

degree of selection and self-selection in the assignment of people who are presently working in the school. This has been particularly effective in the pairing of aides and teachers. Several of the aides are working with teachers they had 'chosen' to partner having worked with a number of teachers in the school before settling down to a stable relationship.

Page 265

One word to be replaced by another of the same length:

Line 15, third word, the word 'portrayed' should read 'portrayal'. portrayal

Page 55

One line to be replaced by another of slightly longer length:
Paragraph 3, line 10:
If a South Boston Catholic can, then who can't join the best and the beautiful.

If a South Boston Catholic can, then who can't join the best and the beautiful.

PART TWO - IN THE CLASSROOM

INTRODUCTION

This section consists mainly of a selection from the observations made in a range of classrooms within the school. To have documented the full variety of practices within each class was beyond the scope of this project. We have selected extracts that most cogently and clearly illustrate lessons relating to key aspects of the transitional curriculum across the K-5 range and in addition we have included some extracts which illustrate different ways of coming to terms with the curriculum problems posed by what is an unusual school.

The reader may find the transcripts 'raw' compared to written language, but without the level of detail of these oral records, pedagogic relationships cannot be adequately described. We would in many ways have preferred to include longer and more extensive extracts, but space and strain on the reader inclined us to rather ruthless editing.

We start with the Kindergarten and work up through the Grades. We are aware that we have included no lessons in which Spanish is used exclusively as the language of instruction, to Spanish monolingual students. We made no audio recordings of these lessons although they were observed by the Boston University team.

Seeking a general description of the pedagogical approach the reader might consider the following features that will recur, particularly in the literacy classes.

The language content of what the students are expected to learn is presented as small segments - extending from a sound, with its symbolic representation through single decontextualised words which include these sounds, to phrases and eventually to sentences, and paragraphs. Accompanying this rote learning of rule - test for recall of rule, followed by application of rule - are exercises which require the student to reiterate learning of that particular lesson. This pedagogical approach is far less prevalent in the home-room and arts

classes. The language classes that drew on context and students' cultural referents that we observed, were those where oral English as a second language/Spanish as a second language were taught concurrently (Susan) and in another class, where one of the aides (Palma) was teaching Spanish literacy to a Spanish-dominant/monolingual group. Penmanship (or 'creative writing' as it is known in the U.K.) was not a form of expression of self and culture that occurred much in this school.

KINDERGARTEN

Janice and Hilary make up one of the few bilingual Kindergarten teams left in the city. These teams are the residue of a skirmish for territorial control over Kindergartens which ended with the Bilingual Department as victor and the pairing of bilingual and monolingual teachers as the compromise. For Janice and Hilary this has created an ideal opportunity to work in synchronised fashion. They tend to eat lunch together in the teachers' room since, they say, this is virtually the only time they get to talk to each other. In the Kindergarten they work intensively and enthusiastically. Always in the background, working unobtrusively and methodically with the prospective Title I children - the gentle figure of Dorothy, the aide. Dorothy picks her way quietly through the class supporting and reinforcing the teaching of Janice and Hilary though in such a way that 'her' children will not notice that they are being singled out.

Janice and Hilary are both English-dominant, though Janice is also fluent in Spanish. In class they frequently take their lead from the children. As the children develop, they will become aware that each language can be used with equal validity.

> "They can articulate that there are two different languages and they have opinions on which they want right now - whether they want English or Spanish. Which is good because - that's a realisation that they're separate things but they're equal".

Children will often demand to repeat a song again - but this time in the other language. Or simply to have a translation of something that someone has said. This can take the extreme form of a predisposition (frequently mentioned by the teachers in the school) for Hispanic children to reject Spanish as their dominant language. One Hispanic boy in K2 persistently refused to reply to questions in Spanish. The teachers believe he will be less resistant by the end of the year, however.

Janice learnt Spanish as a resident in South America. Hilary speaks little Spanish but is learning the language. The children, using their first language, tend to address the teacher who can most quickly satisfy their demands, although Hispanic children address Hilary as well as Janice. Both teachers use Spanish and English in their replies. In fact, this team teaching arrangement does not meet the criteria of the integrated bilingual plan devised by members of Boston University Bilingual Dept. The plan called for the teachers to consistently use either Spanish or English to the children with the intention of fostering a gradual immersion into bilingualism and to ensure that both languages were seen by the children as equally worthy of use. The plan was as much based upon second language acquisition research as on fostering an equal status of the two languages in the children's eyes. Janice and Hilary could not sustain the artifice of the plan. They respond to the children directly - in the children's language. Out of the twenty or so Kindergartens developing the model, only a handful remain. Those which, like Janice and Hilary's, have succeeded, depend on a strong team relationship.

Janice and Hilary take their classes out on regular field trips which often look outwards to cultures other than those represented in the school. One such visit was to the North End of the city which houses the Italian enclave. Shortly after the visit the Kindergarten became a temporary kitchen as spaghetti and meatballs were cooked to bring the experience of the visit back into the curriculum of the school. On such occasions, Janice and Hilary publicise the Kindergarten and invite other teachers in the school to sample the delights.

This is important for Janice and Hilary. They have a strong sense of isolation in the Kindergarten which can too easily be passed over by a teacher who is committed to the concentration on basic skills that operates elsewhere in the school. Kindergarten too easily looks like play, perhaps. In the past, they have been overlooked until the last minute when it comes to ordering and distributing books and materials. On one occasion, Janice went to the District 9 Office to talk to the bilingual co-ordinator who, she found, was unaware that the Rafael Hernandez had a Kindergarten - on an oversight figures had been left out of an account of the school numbers. Indeed, that isolation is reflected in city-wide education circles.

Janice and Hilary are concerned to develop curricula for Kindergarten teaching. Such curricula do, theoretically, exist insofar as reading schemes for elementary schools are intended to cover Kindergarten through to 5th Grade - but they almost always start at Grade 1. Currently, Janice is working on a Spanish reading curriculum with Wendy and Silve (Grade 1 teacher and aide), ensuring both a curriculum for Kindergarten and contact with the rest of the school. One effect is an increased articulation between K2 and Grade 1. Roughly half of the Grade 1 intake is from Kindergarten and problems and possibilities overlap - especially as the Kindergarten teachers come to conceive of curriculum in much the same way as do the Grade teachers.

EXTENDING CULTURAL EXPERIENCE - A visit by the Aquarium Staff to Kindergarten

There are seventeen children in K1 this morning, five boys and twelve girls. The first part of the morning, they are busily occupied in a range of free activities, the home corner seeming to be the most popular with both boys and girls. At 10.10, one of the teachers goes to the light switch and flicks the lights on and off, calling "Clean up now!" Within five minutes the room is tidied up and the children are sitting on the floor by the piano. Janice, the bilingual teacher, tells the children (in Spanish) that today they are going

to have a visit from the Aquarium. Hilary repeats in English. "Does anyone know what the Aquarium is, has anyone been there before?" she asks. One of the children replies, "He and my mother went to get my hair cut and I saw the Aquarium". Several of them reply that it has to do with fish. Hilary explains that this aquarium is very big, "a museum with all kinds of fishes, and an enormous tank two or three storeys high", and goes on to explain that the people who are coming from the Aquarium will be bringing some animals with them. Janice repeats what Hilary has said, in Spanish.

The teachers then show some pictures, "Have you seen this one?" "Crab" "Shell" "Oyster" "Ever seen this walking along the beach?" (Janice repeats in Spanish) "Playa" "Playa". They go on to show horseshoe crabs and starfish and explain that the Aquarium people will be bringing these later for them to see and "so that you can touch them".

Then they switch to singing songs and rhymes, in English and Spanish. The Aquarium staff who work with the School are Marje and Alex. Marje is a member of the Education Section of the Aquarium. Alex works with her part-time, mainly in a bilingual capacity. She is a marine biologist, he is a physics teacher by training and also works part-time in one of the city High Schools. They arrive in class at 10.45 a.m.

They have the children sitting round them on the floor and quickly get to showing them the animals with the minimum of introduction. Mostly the children have one specimen each, or one between two. With four adults involved, there is plenty of opportunity for the children to examine the animals and to ask questions. They begin with the starfish, "How many legs has it got?", Alex asks. One child counts, "1-2-3-6-11-12-13". Most of the teachers' questions are intended to get the children to look more closely rather than constituting explanations or extensions of what is in front of them. "Is it soft or is it hard?" "How does it move?" "What colour is it?" The children's questions to the adults are rather more challenging: "Is it <u>real</u>?" one girl asks Alex. So that when Alex shows the same girl a sea cucumber, he asks her, "Is it a potato?" One of the boys

picks it up and it squirts a jet of water, "He's going to pee!" he exclaims with apparent delight. Alex explains carefully to him not to squeeze it too hard and shows him how it "just squirts water. When he wants to be big, he blows up like a ballon and then he just lets the water out and goes small again."

Most of the children are intrigued by the animals and have little hesitation about handling them, Rodney though is unhappy, he begins to cry and says to one of the teachers, "I want my mummy." Within minutes, however, he is watching someone else playing with the sea cucumber.

"It's called a sea cucumber" "It's got no eyes" "Only a mouth" "How does he talk" "He doesn't cry" "How does he cry?" "He doesn't cry, he only smiles."

They also get to look at periwinkles, sea urchins, a horse-shoe crab and an ordinary crab. Before getting out a new specimen, Alex and Marje pack away the previous one in a big polystyrene ice chest, giving the children each their specimens in a plastic cup. They keep the pace of the lesson moving fast, judging when the children have got as far as they can with one specimen before they move on to the next. Later in the week, the children are to visit the aquarium themselves, and in later weeks- Alex and Marje will be returning to the class. After their visit to the Aquarium, they will return to the school to cook squid in the Kindergarten.

WENDY - GRADE 1 - ENGLISH READING (Extracts from 40 min. class)

Literacy in English for all students by Grade 3 or 4 is a main aim of the school. Given the inadequate or non-existent provision for Spanish-dominant or monolingual children in the middle school, the rapid achievement of literacy in English is vital to prepare the child for achievement in the later years of schooling. The transitional programme then, is compressed, mainly into elementary school, with a hiatus of three years middle school, reappearing erratically,

mainly as bilingual programmes in a few high schools.

Literacy is premised on a knowledge of the cultural components that the terms, sentences, paragraphs and texts refer to. Literacy in English requires that the Spanish monolingual and dominants from Hispanic homes learn about the referents of the Anglo culture. English literacy - understanding the cultural significance of what is read, is vital for academic achievement in an English-dominant state.

In this lesson, the beginnings of literacy, learning to read, are being taught at the beginning of the new school year.

Wendy asks the class to recite the sounds of the English vowels to that she may hear them. As they recite, Wendy points with a stick to the letters on display. Each of these letters has a picture of an object in which the vowel sound is made - long 'A' as in 'cake', long 'O' as in 'rose', short 'O' as in 'top'.

Teacher: This is what we're going to review and this is what you might have a little trouble with, Miguelito. (Miguel has just entered the school). Okay? Right, now one of your friends is here - it's his first time in the class, so please let's help him. Let's not let him hear wrong sounds. Okay? Long -

Class: Long 'o' says 'oh', short 'o' says ....., short ..... says 'ah'.

Teacher: Hold on just a minute - I want to give Miguel just a little review, and this won't hurt you to hear either. Miguel, you know in Spanish reading - you understand what I'm saying in English? - alright. In Spanish reading, you have how many vowels? Do you know how many vowels there are? Vocales? Cuantas vocales? *

Pupil: I know.

Teacher: Okay. Look, they're over here. Miguel, just the same five. Okay? a e i o u. That's English sounds, but those are the same letters, aren't they, that are vowels in Spanish? We have the same letters here, as vowels, but in English vowels have more than one sound, Jose, which makes it a little bit harder. If you notice, we have two o's, but one of them has a straight line over it and one of them has this little curve line over it. It means that 'o' has two different sounds for now, okay? When you see a letter

*There would normally be an inverted 'question mark' opening a question in Spanish. They are omitted throughout this report.

with a straight line over it like that, we call that long - it has a long sound, so that's a long sound - there's the long vowel 'a', long 'e', long 'i' and long 'u'. Right? Now they're easier, Miguel, because those are the names of the letters in English. Listen. That's the letter 'o' in English, that's the name of the letter, and long 'o' says 'ō' says the same as its name. Can you repeat that? Long 'o' says 'ō'. Try it. Long 'o' says 'ō' just like its name. Okay? Do you know the name of this letter in English? That's 'a'. Long 'a' says 'ā'. What is it? Long 'a' says 'ā'. Okay? This is 'e', the name of this letter in English. Long 'e' says 'e'. Say it.

Pupil: Long 'e' says 'ē'.

Teacher: Good. Okay. This is 'i'. It's also a word in English, okay? When you talk about yourself in Spanish you say, yo. When you do it in English, 'I'. Okay? So that is also the name of a letter. So long 'i' says 'ī'. Say it. Long -

Pupil: Long 'i' says 'ī'.

(Recitation of vowels continues).

Teacher: Let's go over the 'j' page, yes, just for a second with them. Alright? Alright, let's just do a page as a review for Miguel. Here's the letter 'j' and it says 'juh', and when you see the letter 'j' in each word, you're going to circle it - okay? Si Ud. no entiende nada,avisame, okay, Okay, jeans, jeans, can you circle the 'j' in 'jeans'? Pyjamas, juice, jazz and jug. You can practice this later. Now listen, see if you can hear this. You circle the sound that you hear at the beginning of the word. Jack-in-the-box, jack-in-the-box. Good. Mouse. Good. Game - 'guh'. Jacks. Okay. Don't worry about that for now. I have to help you with that later. Right. Look over here and just try to follow with us for now, Miguel. Right, let's turn to our next page, please. Okay, now remember - listen. Listen to your sounds. When we say a word, I want to listen to every sound that you're making in that word. Listen to the sounds. Just because three words, or two words, begin with the same sound as the word we want, don't stop at the end of the first sound. You've got to listen for the vowel sound and the ending sound. You've got to listen for every single sound in the word. Right? Let's look up here. No 'jug' - now every one of those letters begins like 'jug', but the vowel sound and the ending sounds are not the same. You look for the word that says 'jug'. 'J - u - g'. Okay, let him just copy you for now. I don't mind if he copies for today, okay? This is a jar of jam. Listen for the sounds in j - a - m, jam. Good boy .... He doesn't even have to copy, we'll be copying him! Good boy, Miguel. Rug. R - u - g, rug. Look at that. And the last one - man, m - a - n, m - a - n. That's right, that's the one, the 'a' sound, okay? Very good!

The sound/letter correspondence section concludes. Reading whole words and sentences commences. These words incorporate the letters and sounds of the part of this and preceeding lessons.

Teacher: Alright, now let's look at our first picture here. Take a good look at the picture. We have three sentences, remember what a sentence is? Let's look up and remember what a sentence is. It's a group of words that tell a little story. It's not just any group of words, it's got to tell us something that makes sense. It's got to tell us a little story. Right, one of those sentences is going to tell us about that picture. The other two sentences are not, and we have to find the right one, but we're going to read all the sentences first before we decide which one we're going to circle. Now, let's look at the first line there now. I want everyone trying, please. Sound out your words if you don't know them. Do you, Gabriel? Read it.

Pupil: See Jim ride.

Teacher: Very good! Let's look at the picture. Do you think that sentence goes with the picture? See Jim ride? Who's in the picture? Jim. What is he doing?

Class: Riding.

Teacher: Do you think that sentence tells about the picture? Yes. I think it does. But don't circle it yet. Let's read all of them just in case there's one that's better. Right, the next one. Read the next - is Gabriel the only one working today? Okay.

Pupil: See Dot ride.

Teacher: See Dot ride. Is Dot in the picture? It couldn't possibly be that sentence. Look at the last line there. Okay.

(The reading continues .....)

The accuracy of the student's recognition of the letter/sound correspondence is tested.

Teacher: Let's turn over to the next page. This is a kind of a little test page. Now, once again, I know you're sitting close to one another - I do not want you to look on anybody else's book. Whatever you mark - a circle - cover it up with your hand right away. Okay. You want to know whether or not you know it. That's the only way we can find out, if we do the answers ourselves. We're going across the row, right across, this way. Are you ready? I will say the name of the picture and you circle the sound that it

begins with, the first sound. Ready? Turtle. Next - girl. Rabbit. Turkey. Next row - next. Rooster. Jug. Sandwich. Next row - socks. Dog. Nurse. Duck. Last row - you will be wearing one of these soon for Hallowe'en - mask. Mask. Goat. Mouse. And Jacks. My goodness, I'm sure you have a hundred per cent. Alright, once again, I am sure you are big enough to be honest, and let's mark our own books. Don't erase. If you got it wrong, put a little cross next to it, it's the only way we're going to learn. Alright, I'm going to have you call out the letter you heard. So let's go right round the room and see if we can mark the books without my going to each one of you. Alright, turtle begins with 't'. Girls begin with 'g', okay? (Goes round the class, pupils giving letters). How many had 100? I kind of think you all did. Everybody got them all right? Good, and so did Miguel. Didn't you get them all right? Yes, he got every one of them right! Good for you! Okay, put a check mark on your page. Very, very good. Okay, put a check mark on, you had them all right. That's right, you can do it.

As is usual in each lesson a new letter is introduced. Words beginning with the new letter are used to help the students become familiar with the new sound and to expand their vocabulary.

Teacher: Alright, let's take a new letter, today, please. Let's take the letter 'p', same as Spanish, says 'pug'. It's a kind of quiet letter, like 'pear' - 'p' says - what's the name of the letter? 'p'. What's its sound? You make it when you say 'pea'. You're making the sound. Let's look on our page here. Please circle the 'p' in each word. Pillow. Pillow. Pencil. Cup - where do you hear 'p' in 'cup'?

Class: At the end.

Teacher: At the end. Pan. And pitcher. Now let's not get this 'pitcher' mixed up with a picture. This is a picture - pitcher. Can you say that? Pitcher. pitcher. Can you say that? Pitcher. And what hangs on the wall is a picture. Okay, so remember that, that's pretty hard. Pitcher and picture, but this - a pitcher is something that holds water, or juice, or liquid. Okay? Let's look up here to making the letter 'p'. Let's not get careless with this. Start with a straight line, and a nice round ball up at the top. Now small 'p' does the same thing, but it goes below the line, down, and it's one letter that goes below the line. And you notice I do it with two strokes. Watch, I went down, I took my chalk off the board, and then I went back and fixed it. I don't want to see this, because you see what happens? You put a look in there, and that's carelessness. Okay? So take your pencil off. Learn how to do it neatly the first time. But make it like that all the time, okay? Alright, now

down below - we're going to listen for when we hear the letter 'p'. If we hear it at the beginning of the word, or at the end of the word. If we hear it first, we write it before the picture; if we hear it last, we put it after the picture. Alright - parrot. Parrot. Write the 'p' where you heard it. In Parrot. Okay? Jeep, jeep. That's a jeep. Okay? And sometimes this is called a purse or a pocket book. It doesn't make any difference. Purse or pocket book. Okay, you can all mark your page correct because you've got it correct, alright? It saves a little bit of time. Write it where you found it, right? What? Yes, down the bottom please mark your long and short vowel sounds. And circle the letter 'p'. Can we read our words, please? What's the first word, down at the bottom? P - e - t.

The words pine and pin conclude this section of the lesson.

Teacher: A pin. Pin, pin, okay? You've got to put it together fast - pin. Pu - i - nn see what we say when we sound out each letter - we can't talk like that, we have to say 'pin'.

The lesson concludes with distribution of reading exercise sheets for homework.

Comments on Wendy's reading class

By pointing to pictures of objects and getting the children to recite the appropriate vowel sounds, the teacher helps the children to memorise the sound that matches the word that fits the picture. Although the formulation of the rule (eg. in the form long 'o' says 'ō', long 'u' says 'oo') might be memorised, the application of the rule is dependent upon the student's recognition of a word to which the rule applied, and the learner's ability to produce the sounds that are appropriate in that language. This recognition and appropriate sound with letter matching are acquired not by memorising or by rule formulation but by the formulation of this sound/letter correspondence as part of the child's cognitive structure. The acquisition of the connection between sound and letter-symbols is manifest in the appropriate utterance of the sound.

The fostering of this acquisition is enhanced through the fostering of the student's sense of meaning and achievement. The teacher encourages, praises and cajoles the students.

The latter part of this lesson requires that the children practice their sound/letter relationships on words that they read as part of short sentences. The sentences from a workbook are discreet exercises. They have neither context (a story, for example) nor is their meaning necessarily significant in terms of the children's culture.

This approach to the teaching of reading-through initiation into sound/letter relations - is known as the Phonic method. A main alternative method in use is usually called "Look and Say". The sound/letter relationship in Look and Say are acquired inductively through many exercises and examples of use of an expanding vocabulary. These words are presented in context (stories, action pictures) that have or are intended to have an immediate significance in the children's culture.

Wendy's class are attentive and seem to be keen to learn. Even when Wendy admonishes them ("Don't be frightened", "Aren't you ashamed?") she makes it clear that she does so to help them to read. The lesson is highly focussed on the tasks and their significance is established by the teacher.

We observed Wendy's class on other occasions - the following are extracts from field-notes:

What's in a name

In Wendy's Grade 1 class the students are being admonished for the standard of their written work. They sit grouped around their desks in fours and fives - looking across at Wendy who strolls up and down by the blackboard.

> "Take a good look at your papers. If you got some right - that's great. If you got some wrong - don't worry. What I'm concerned about at the moment is the

> neatness of it. Some of you are just scribbling. Look at this. I'm going to send some of your work home. You're getting careless. Even the way you write your name. Your name is you. It is important. If you just scribble it, that means you don't care. Your name should be the most beautiful thing you do ... That is your work - you want to be proud of it."

In the same class on another visit:

> "This gentleman is here to take some pictures. I want you to just carry on working and try not to pay any attention to him."

The photographer has been sent along by the C-PAC to take some pictures for a magazine they are to publish. He is a tall, black man, six foot four, he says, but bends low to shoot the pictures at student-eye-level. Nothing changes in the class, though the kids find it hard not to keep an eye on him. This time they sit in a tight circle of desks as Wendy looks around from the centre. She is going through the coming night's homework based on digraphs and focussing on the difference between 'sh' and 'ch'. She then moves on to words beginning with the last letters of the alphabet, looking at homonyms and homophones. Alternative meanings of 'well' are explored with the whole class and then they move on to 'witch'. There are a number of unsuccessful attempts at spelling this word - Wendy prompts. "It's one of those crazy English words. 'Witch' - 'bruja', 'bruja'. One day we'll find out who invented the spelling of these crazy English words! Saville! Who invented these words?" Caught unawares, and now the victim of a gentle conspiracy, I muster what little humour I can and mutter "the Spanish?" Wendy responds with a knowing look to her students "If the Spanish had invented it, it would be easy. It would be spelled 'w - i - c - h', isn't that right?" and we all laugh. "Bruja - 'witch'?" and then it is spelled correctly.

As the teacher who initiates all the English monolingual, English-dominant and bilingual children into reading, Wendy holds a key place in the school. She obtains high achievement from her class in reading as measured by the Metropolitan Achievement Test. In May, 1979, Grade 1 at the school achieved reading scores in the top quartile in these national tests. Nonetheless, as many as one quarter of these children

may repeat the 1st Grade.

One of the things we looked for during our observations, was the influence of student culture on the classroom process. What recognition does the school give to the student's cultural backgrounds through its instructional methods and curriculum?

Wendy: "But where do you see it? How, when I am teaching English reading, am I going to have 90% of that lesson in "culture"? Come to culture classes, okay, and you'd see it. Come to the music class, see it. Come to the music class when they're teaching the songs in Spanish, and they're using a Spanish instrument - they're not using an American instrument. There's no way, when you're teaching English reading, that you're going to be teaching Spanish culture - and when you're teaching a maths lesson ...."

And yet, for this same teacher, white American, immersed in the symbols and problems of the Hispanic community, cultural maintenance is obviously a cornerstone of her ideology. What Wendy says next appears to be a contradiction - a questioning of her own assertion of the culture-proof reading lesson.

"I would be teaching this way if I was in an all-English school or an all-Hispanic school. The method is the method. It's the way you use the method to deal with the bilingual situation, is what makes the thing 'click'. You've got a method. You've got .... a reading Economy book is used in all systems in Boston, in every school .... well, it's my method of using that system to teach a different culture of children. I have to do that adapting, and everybody's going to adapt it differently .... it's your method of teaching - it's you, it's you as a person. What makes a person, perhaps do it better is the amount of culture that has rubbed off and become me. Then I can put that back into the kids again. But I have to have it in me.

On the wall outside Wendy's classroom, a mural is being started of the Aquarium, and opposite, on a cupboard that marks the edge of Christine's area in the open space, a United Way poster competes for attention with two children's drawings of Count Dracula and a selection of Halloween masks.

In the classroom on the left, Lucilla's class is busily cutting and

sticking around the Halloween theme and the classroom walls provide evidence of previous projects.

LUCILLA (GRADE 1/2)

Lucilla is one of the Cuban teachers. At the time of our field-work her classroom is the only one in the school (apart from the Kindergarten) displaying posters and children's work telling about the variety of ethnic groups represented in the school. There is a mural depicting the history of slavery in the U.S. "After the Abolition of Slavery, the only job for people was as servants. Years later, they had better opportunities as musicians, singers, teachers, doctors, dentists, secretaries." Amongst the portraits displayed are George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King and anonymous American Indians. An elaborate child-made replica of an Indian Village in Puerto Rico rests on a table beside the illustrations. Most of the signs are bilingual and the Spanish version is either above or in front of the English. This is in contrast to other classrooms where Spanish is always after or under English.

Lucilla has a combination of Grade 1 and Grade 2 children in her homeroom. The children are split into groups of two or four and separated into two areas. The four children opposite the board are doing maths exercises. On the board is 2 + (𝍸) = 4. Beneath are:

2 + 𝍸 = 5

3 + (𝍸) = 5

1 + 𝍸 = 4

2 + 𝍸 = 6

"How many do you need?" pointing to the one with the empty box. "O.K., now - I am going to the other side." She leaves the four to get on with that question. The other group she addresses in Spanish asking about the time on a model clock. The children are asked to come out to the front and to move the hands to match the times that the teacher indicates. Lucilla returns to the maths table and marks the maths group's work.

Each group seems intent on its own work, the noise level is low. She does not have to tell any group to be quiet, discipline if firm, simply saying "Be seated" is enough to regain order.

Lucilla explained that she taught reading by a variety of methods including phonic and "Look and Say" and pointed out that she had adapted Language Master cards to Spanish words. The use of a variety of methods, her arranging of children into groups working on different tasks and the absence of written rules, seemed the main characteristics of Lucilla's class. As a purveyor of a bilingual, bicultural curriculum this class would seem to fulfil many of the aims of bilingual schooling and its associated legislation.

Such a curriculum approach is not without its difficulties. Many of Lucilla's class are repeaters, and these are mainly Puerto Rican children. Lucilla finds they demand constant reviewing of lesson content, a factor she explains to herself in terms of a lack of academic background and the fact that most of them missed Kindergarten. She adds that poor white children from backgrounds not conducive to schooling present similar problems.

Lucilla allocates students to Alicia, who is taking a teacher training programme at the University and was once the secretary of the school. She is very familiar with the family lives of the students and tries to ensure that the children are adequately fed at breakfast and lunch and take their maximum rest. Alicia is able to give examples of children who, through their enthusiasm for learning, overcome the disadvantage of their poor family background.

As we observed a number of reading and maths classes it appeared the predominant pattern was for the teacher to work closely to the text, addressing the class and expecting an answer addressed to the teacher and the class. In some classes this looked more complex. The teacher might be circulating among three different groups, each working from a different level text (eg. in Gr. 4 - 5). Characteristically there was a high degree of concentration on the task with little deviation or sidetracking. This strong "work orientation" seemed a major feature in the maintenance of discipline, for though lists of rules were displayed

on each classroom wall, the lists seemed mainly descriptive of what happened in class, rather than prescriptive of ideal forms of behaviour. (Some teachers pointed out that they negotiated the rules with their students).

TITLE I - SPANISH READING

The Teacher - Fernanda. Fernanda is Cuban, trained as a teacher in Puerto Rico and worked for five years in Puerto Rican High School where she taught reading and English as a second language. She has had no training in remedial reading since she has been in the U.S.A.

All the students that come to Fernanda's Title 1 class are preliterate and Hispanic. Most of them speak a little English. Most of the children are 2nd Grade and one Grade behind in their Spanish reading. A few of the children take Title 1 as remedial class, for instance the two children who are 3rd Grade and the occasional 4th and 5th Grader. Some children come from Chapter 766 to Title 1, some being reintroduced to mainstream, others repeating a year. Between 35 and 40 take the course - those who are repeating are evaluated to check progress and problems. This evaluation often takes as long as a year to complete.

A set of grade Texts - 'Cascabel' 'Trampolin' 'Umbral' are used by the teacher. These texts published in 1977 are well presented, having coloured pictures and well printed texts. Along with the text book is a printed workbook in which the children do their exercises. Children are tested by a graded assessment scheme published in the same series. There are test books specific to the different levels A - F. These tests were not available in the school until 1978 and prior to this the Inter-American series of tests was used. These tests depended on ability of children to read against the clock and the children did not like taking them. In contrast, the currently used Santillana tests cover not only reading but comprehension and are not timed. The teacher feels that the children seem to like taking them.

The Santillana texts are not only attractive and well graded, but they include the lexis of different dialects of Spanish, for instance,

in ADELANTE - level 3F text, there is a picture of some kites, the lines from which descend to the different countries of the Caribbean and South America. Written on each kite is the dialect word for kite from each of these countries. Such sensitivity to dialects contrasts with the previous reading texts which were Castillian, presented in black and white and which, according to the teacher, were quite unattractive to the children.

Fernanda teaches groups of between three and six. Each group comes for 40 minutes per day. The class we observed were very attentive to the lesson and the teacher said this was typical and that although 80% of them have some form of family problem, the children adapt well to the demands of the school.

Retracing our steps to the point where the corridor forks, Catalina can be heard conducting her class in clear, resonant Spanish. One of the older teachers in a predominantly young faculty, Catalina sits on a desk at the centre of the class holding an open text book in front of her. The children, sitting in rows of desks, listen attentively. Above the blackboard are a row of posters of "Hombres Ilustres". At the far side of the room, behind some tall screens, Louise and Juliana, teacher and aide in the Title L programme, are testing a child's reading in English.

TITLE I - ENGLISH READING

At ten o'clock seven children leave Sheila's Period One English Reading class to go to a Title I reading class, again in English. The teacher, Louise, is new to the school and this is only her second week with the group. A young black teacher, rather strikingly dressed and with a sense of style in her teaching manner too. The aide is an older black woman, Juliana, who has been at the school some years. The first thing they do is collect letters from the children giving parental consent for the Title I class. While she does this Juliana keeps a running commentary on what she is doing in a low, almost singing voice, "My, you must be the first group I've ever seen that got their forms back first time. Well that's just wonderful..."

There is a list of rules on the wall:

Rules: Do your best.
Work quietly.
Listen carefully.
Respect others.

Rather more instructions than rules but there are rules, unwritten rules, as we learn a little later.

This Title I class is conducted in a section of Catalina's room which is cut off by screens which provide a visual, if not an acoustic barrier. Catalina's strong Spanish tones we find a somewhat disconcerting interference, but no-one else seems to mind. (Paula said a few days later in a rather different context, "You've got to remember that a lot of these children are used to having to do their homework in rooms where the TV is on and where family conversations are going on. They are used to having to concentrate.")

Juliana gives card folders to the children and asks them to write their names on them and to decorate with pictures while she files away the letters and Louise tests Ramon. First she gives him a word list to read (it is titled "Boston Public Schools Test" and described as a 3rd Grade word list). He reads them all correctly without apparent difficulty and little hesitation. She then gives him a test headed, "functional knowledge of consonants". This sounds complicated but in the bit of the test I see him do, the teacher says, "Tell me a word beginning with...", naming a consonant, and he has to provide the word. All the words he gives are in English.

The children who are colouring in the folders are mostly doing abstract patterns or designs, though Danny is working on a careful line drawing of a human figure. He keeps erasing the left leg which he has drawn in a raised, half turned position and he seems to have difficulty getting it exactly how he wants it. When Juliana collects the folders in he is on his third or fourth attempt. Some of the girls begin a conversation which switches into Spanish.

"There's no Spanish speaking in here", Juliana says to the whole group.

"I can't help it", says one of the girls giggling.

"You'd better help it", says Juliana.

"I'd better remind you..." begins Louise.

"Try, try hard", says Juliana, not to interrupt, but in soft tones that underscore the teacher.
"This is English Reading", Louise finishes.

CATALINA - THE 3RD GRADE TEACHER

In each classroom there is a list of rules, usually in English, but in this class in English and Spanish.

1. Remain seated at all times.
2. No running or playing in the classroom.
3. Must have a pass to leave the room.
4. Go to bathroom only after recess and lunch.
5. Help keep classroom clean.
6. Take good care of school materials.
7. Fighting in the classroom is not permitted.
8. No gum chewing in school.
9. You cannot cut classes.
10. No hats or coats in the classroom.

Catalina is Cuban. Her first language is Spanish and she speaks English (which she has learned in the USA) with limited fluency. Her morning class is a combination of Grades 3, 4 and 5 whom she teaches in Spanish, in her Grade 3 homeroom. She was trained and worked as a teacher in Cuba, though she had to retake her teaching qualifications in America in order to teach here; she is not currently taking any teacher courses.

Catalina has 25 years' experience as a teacher. She believes in strict discipline for the children and teaches much the same way she used to in Cuba. She prefers children to copy off the board, to memorise and write. In her view, these activities are more useful to the children and more meaningful than working from reproduced pages of workbooks such as those which require children to trace over letters and write parts of words instead of whole words or sentences.

She considers most of the children in the school to be in some way deprived. One way of dealing with this deprivation that Catalina uses is to ask students to judge actions or events as good or bad, spending a lot of time explaining the reasons for these value judgements.

As we explained, we found strong similarities in pedagogy as we went to different classes. Not only with the text closely followed, but there was

a sense in which, although the pacing of lessons was quite fast, because the steps taken were so small, progress tended to be relatively slow.

SUSAN'S 2ND GRADE CLASS

Susan and Palma, her aide, have taught together for seven years. For both this was their first teaching post. During that time, they have achieved a close working relationship and an agreed style of teamwork. Susan's homeroom takes in the Grade 2 children. The room is in two sections. To the right of the entrance bounded by a moveable blackboard is the space where Palma takes language lessons with Spanish-language-dominant children. Susan uses the blackboard which extends along the one side of the room, whilst Palma takes small groups for reading, using the opposite face of the portable blackboard.

Again a list of classroom rules is displayed and Susan explains that they were derived from group discussions with the class, drawing on the students' recognition of the need for order:

1. No fighting
2. No hitting or pushing
3. No running
4. No gum
5. Raise your hand
6. No money
7. Do not take things which do not belong to you
8. Stay in your seat

Susan prepares her lessons very thoroughly. She has clear intentions for their outcome and strong ideas about the means by which these outcomes might be achieved. Her pedagogy moves the children's thinking in small steps through exercises of rule, memorising, recall, rule-application type. The pacing of her lessons tends to be fast though the progression through the syllabus is steady.

Constructing a dictionary with Susan

During an English reading lesson the students conclude a written exercise at the table and Susan says, as she moves towards the blackboard, "Let's see how quietly you can move your chairs to the board." The children re-seat. Susan puts five words on the board: *Dog. Parrot. Snake. Monkey. Bear.* She points to the words and says "What do all those words have in common, Ralph?" "They are all animals", comes the reply.

Susan says, "I am making a dictionary. I have to put these words in alphabetical order but I cannot decide whether 'parrot' or 'bear' comes first. There is a way."
Chris shouts out "Cross it out."
Susan says, "I cannot cross it out."
Jose shouts out, "Bear comes before parrot."
Chris is playing with a book.
"Have you listened to what I said?" Susan says to him.
Marion is effusive in response to the teacher's questions. Her hand shoots up and she waves and moves about. The teacher puts the surname of two of the boys on the board, one Spanish, one English, Matias, Matthew, and asks the children to put them in dictionary sequence. Marion waves and calls out and the teacher says, "You are bothering all of us."
Marion answers, "No, you are bothering me."
She is sent away from the board to wait at the desk alongside.
"Close your books" says the teacher.
All the children attempt to work out whether Matias or Matthew comes first, but the task seems to be beyond their capacity. Although they have been able to sequence up to two letters, they do not seem to be able to manage a third letter. The teacher's lesson plan, based on steady progression, and on applications of rules and examples, apparently breaks down.

About fifteen minutes after the dictionary exercise is commenced Susan concludes with "Okay, you are going to go to your seats. Take the yellow paper and for your homework, copy the list of words on the board to be put in alphabetical order."

Marion continues to cause disturbance. She folds a piece of paper and waves it around. Whilst the children are copying, John says to Ralph "Did you see 'California Fever' last night?"
The conversation does not continue. They return to copying and the teacher deals with Marion:
"You are supposed to be copying the list, putting it in alphabetical order for homework."

This broken conversation between Ralph and John is the first off-task talk that we heard in the school, reinforcing the observation that the pacing is rapid. About five minutes later, John repeats the same

question to Ralph, "Did you see 'California Fever' last night?"
Once again the conversation does not continue. The children complete the copying. Susan asks Jose to go to the blackboard and write 'running' and 'liking' which she does accurately with Jose leading the applause.
"Ralph would you turn 'Hopping' into 'Hoping'.
John is asked to go to the board and write 'Jumping' which he does as 'Jumpping'. Ralph calls out "Boo, boo" and as an aside to us "John is a kook."
John corrects to 'Jumping'.
Susan concludes the lesson by acknowledging John's correction. "I am glad you got that because tomorrow we are going to do another exercise - the suffix 'y'."

Susan allows for little deviation from the lesson plan. Intuitive leads by the children are acknowledged but not incorporated into the main lines of the lesson. She allows for children's wit and laughs with them, but in this lesson did not initiate any wit or banter herself. She treats the children as individuals and deals with infractions of the lesson's structure rapidly and with confidence. The overall impression is of high concentration on the task in hand with strong overtones of testing against the clock. A sample of right answers is taken as an indication that the whole class has understood.

In the Homeroom, stars are awarded at the day's end for good work and behaviour and are recorded on a board. An accumulation of ten stars gives the child a choice of a small prize. Stars may be lost if Susan or Palma have to ask more than once for a child to follow the rules.

Meanwhile, at the other end of the class Palma is taking a group of Hispanic students. Palma was born and spent much of he life in Puerto Rico and has recently completed a teacher's degree in bilingual education through Boston University. She is waiting to return to the Island as a teacher but meanwhile prefers to work as an aide in this school, where she has been for several years. She is about to read a story and prior to commencing asks the children to recall parts of previous chapters. The children have the book in front of them. Palma asks the children to explain what is going on in the illustrations to the book. The students take turns reading a page at a time. She helps the slower

readers, emphasising meaning, spending a lot of time translating vocabulary items from Castillian Spanish to those of the Puerto Rican dialect. She writes both of the items on the board or, where appropriate, draws a picture. Occasionally she explains the derivation of words especially where they are borrowed from English, but she does not make judgements about whether such borrowing is correct or appropriate.

The only occasions when she stresses syllabic division occurs when she points out incorrect words stress. However, she constantly corrects and points out punctuation and its effect on intonation and word components such as gender, tense, etc. that are often not sounded in spoken language. At the end of each page Palma summarises and paraphrases, questions the students on the meaning and explains enything they seem to be unsure of. To these comprehensive questions she requires answers in the form of complete sentences.

Palma moves on to a story about four men moving furniture. An illustration in the reader shows only three men. A student asks her where the fourth man is, to which Palma pretends that she cannot reply as she does not know. Another student suggested that the fourth man is upstairs. Everyone laughs. Palma asks what, in the text, would be sounded as a rising intonation pattern. A girl draws a question mark in the air with her finger saying "uno de esos asi" (one of those things). In the course of the story one of the characters has a dream. Palma asks students if they ever dream about things that happened during the day. One answers that he dreams about T.V. shows like The Hulk. Palma asks the children to write for their homework an account of a dream that they have had.

In one explanation of vocabulary items during the story Palma says "We call it X... in Puerto Rico and we are all from Puerto Rico aren't we?" One girl in the group declines to identify herself as Puerto Rican and when Palma questions her further the girl replies "I am from here" (the US). Palma smiles but says nothing.

In reading and maths, expository monologues are often used by the teacher to introduce a new rule, or new topic. Students are generally expected to learn the rule, memorise it and then to apply it to a series of

illustrative exercises. These are then marked to test for retention and understanding in order to ensure that the objectives have been attained. In SSL, as well as in ESL and some areas of Social Studies, there are no set texts. In these lessons the topics can derive more directly from the students' experiences, and teachers are able to be more interactive with their classes.

PAULA - SPANISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (SSL) 4TH GRADE

There are 15 English-dominant students sitting around two tables. On the wall are classroom rules similar to those found in other rooms. Paula bids 'Good-day' to the class and they reply in Spanish. Having completed the greetings, she asks a student what the date is and the year. The student replies accurately and Paula asks her to say it louder so that other children in the class can hear her. The student repeats.

Teacher: Buenos dias, clase.

Class: Buenos dias, maestra.

Teacher: Como estan Uds?

Class: Muy bien, gracias, y Ud?

Teacher: Estoy muy bien, gracias. Que dia es hoy? Quien sabe? Colleen? Muy bien. Clase?

Class: Hoy es miercoles.

Teacher: Cual es la fecha de hoy? La fecha. Mira al calendario alla. Cual es la fecha de hoy? Harold.

Harold: La fecha de hoy -

Teacher: El veinte y -

Pupil: El veintecinco.

Teacher: Okay, otra vez. Es el -

Pupil: - veinticuatro de octubre mil novecientos setenta y nueve.

Teacher: Muy bien. Can you say it again, but louder, so that the people over here can hear you? Can you say it again? Muy bien, muy bien. La fecha es -

Class: La fecha es -

Teacher: - el vienticuatro de octubre -

Class: - el vienticuatro de octubre -

Teacher: - mil novecientos setenta y nueve.

Class: - mil novecientos setenta y nueve.

Paula holds up some coloured crayons and asks what they are. One pupil says 'a pencil' in anticipation, but Paula leads into ....

Teacher: Muy bien. What?

Pupil: .... pencil ....

Teacher: Okay, well, why don't you go and get it for her then? Do you remember that yesterday, and for the last couple of days, we've been talking about the weather? Okay, does anybody know how to say this? In Spanish? Quien sabe? Esta lloviendo. Clase?

Class: Esta lloviendo.

(PAUSE)

Teacher: What does it mean? It's not raining in this picture. This one, it's windy.

Pupil: Esta frio.

Teacher: Uh - tal vez. Muy bien, muy bien, Colleen. Say it louder, so they can hear you.

Colleen: El viento -

Having gone through the types of weather in response to pictures, the teacher reviews the names of colours in Spanish. The class is very excited. Their hands wave in the air to attract teacher's attention so that they may answer the question in Spanish. For these English-dominant children, mainly Whites and Blacks, learning Spanish seems enjoyable. The teacher's instructions are in English, and Spanish is limited to the vocabulary and grammar the children have already learnt.

Teacher: Muy bien. Okay, I'd like to very quickly review the colours, so I would like - I'm going to start you off and then I would like somebody else (Oh, thank you Andrew) - I'd like somebody else to become the teacher. Okay? Que color es?

Pupil: Es amarillo.

Teacher: Muy bien, es amarillo Clase?

Class: Es amarillo.

Teacher: Okay. (Thank you Andrew).

Pupil: Es verde.

Teacher: Muy bien. Clase?

Class: Es verde.

(Teacher goes round class asking different colours).

The level of excitement is fairly consistent and rises when the teacher begins to use flash cards.

Teacher: Okay, look over here. I'm going to show you the flash card and then you're going to tell me the number. All together.

(Picks numbers at random).

Okay, let's see how fast we can do it.

(Repeats exercise faster).

The children crowd round the teacher sitting at the table in the middle of the room.

Teacher: Right, everyone come over here, to the table. Okay, can everybody see now? Can you see? Come over here. Do you remember what we do? You want to help me, Colleen?

Pupil: Are we going to say the colours in the picture?

Teacher: You have to say - for this, what would you say?

Pupil: Es una - flores.

Teacher: Es una flor azul. Okay, es una flor azul. Wait a second, I asked for everybody to take their hands off the table, please. Everyone - and take a step back so there's enough room for everyone. Russell, could you please move back? I appreciate you wanting to help me, but there is not enough room for everybody. If you step back a little bit - Stephanie, come in here. Okay, wait a minute. Let's settle this so we can - if we're going to continue talking later so we won't have time. Okay, is everyone ready?

Class: Yes.

Teacher: Okay, start with Colleen.

Colleen: Es un ....

Teacher: Is that correct?

Colleen: Es un estoria cafe?

Teacher: Is that the correct word?

Pupil: I can't say it so good!

Colleen: Es una mesa ....

Teacher: I said this is - eso es una mesa - esto no es una mesa. Escritorio.

Colleen: Escritorio.

Teacher: Okay, I'll give her a point for that, but I think that is it, Steven?

Steven: Es un -

Teacher: - escritorio. I gave you a point, I have you a point, too, Andrew. Alright. Andrew, your turn.

(This routine continues involving other students in the class).

One boy pulls up an empty milk crate and turns it on the other side in order to see over the rest of the children. Hands are popping up and down continuously.

One of the colour identification games consists of asking a child to answer questions from members of the class which would identify the object and the colour of the object which that child has selected. The children in the class have ten questions to identify the object. One of the children keeps score. The child who is to be questioned goes to a small round table and faces the class, questioning them about the colour of an object that he identifies. The children put up their hands to answer and she selects someone to answer - a correct answer gains a point. If the answer is wrong, then the child has to correct the respondent.

Teacher: Remember we played a game yesterday? Okay, I'm going to change it a little bit and we're going to use the colours. Remember what I said? I'll start you off, and then somebody will take my place, okay? Listen, listen first, to learn how to play. Busco algo blanco, busco algo blanco. What am I asking you to do?

Pupil: Find something white.

Teacher: Find something that's white, so you go and find something that's white. Muy bien - what are you going to say? Okay, and she gets a point, okay? I will keep score. Who would like to be the teacher first? Let's see. Let's see. Harold, would you like to start if off? Won't you stand in the middle of the room so everybody can hear you?

Harold: Busco algo violeta.

Teacher: Remember how to use the colours. I said we were changing the game a little bit. Harold, since you said it so well, I'm going to give you a point, and you get a point also, Steven. Kelly?

Kelly: Busco algo rosa.

Teacher: Okay, we didn't really learn that colour. Do you want to tell us what colour it is? It's pink. Why don't you choose another one?

(The game continues until everyone has had a turn).

Okay, I'm going to hold on to the point for a minute and I want us to quickly review our numbers. Just let me record the last two points - Colleen and Barbara. Okay, I'd like everyone to look over here. We're going to count by tens, from ten to a

> hundred. I'm going to start by reviewing the numbers altogether, then I'm going to start somebody off and I'm going to point to different people and you're going to say the numbers. I'll collect it at the end of the class. Thank you for reminding me, Corrinne. Okay, are you ready? Let's do it together. Diez, veinte, treinta, cuarenta, cincuenta, sesenta, setenta, ochenta, noventa, cien.
>
> (Goes round class).
>
> Okay, let's start it again, from the beginning.
>
> (Goes round class again).

SUSAN - SSL AND ESL COMBINED (2ND GRADE)

Susan combines an English as a Second Language (ESL) class with Spanish as a Second Language (SSL) class.

Excerpt: ... Fourteen children in the 2nd Grade Homeroom. It's 12.15. The children have moved their chairs from the desk to sit in a semi-circle in order that they can see each other. The teacher asks them to use what she calls their "opposite language", to describe each other's clothes and the colours of these clothes. The Spanish-dominant children describe the students' clothes and their colours in English and the English-dominant children describe the clothes in Spanish. The children are keen on getting the vocabulary correct ... there are some mistakes, usually grammatical, which the teacher corrects. She tends not to correct pronunciation.

Next she tells the children to go back to their desks with their seats and draws up on the board four columns in which she puts anagrams, in the first column the Spanish anagram ACMISIA, in the second column, ELYOLW, an English anagram, in a third column a second Spanish anagram, BUELACIA, and in the fourth column, an English anagram, IGRL. Susan then calls on children by name to give the word the anagram represents. The English-dominant are asked to identify the Spanish word, and the Spanish-dominant children, the English anagram. This task is also greeted with considerable enthusiasm by the children.

Later we asked Susan about the mixing of SSL and ESL students in the same class:

> I think its probably the only programme that it's happened to work out with so far. That's largely the combination of ...

my own feeling is that it's a very beneficial way to do it, and it's great for everyone and also scheduling. It works out for me that I could have English-speaking and Spanish-speaking kids together at the same time.

Do other teachers do that, do you know?

No, as far as I know that hasn't been done - mostly from scheduling problems. I had that situation. But usually it's where the Spanish-speaking kids are taking Spanish reading and English reading; and the English-speaking kids are taking English reading and oral Spanish. You know, it's been a scheduling necessity to separate (Spanish reading from oral Spanish) and you know that would be a whole new scheduling problem. And if that became priority, perhaps it could be tackled but, you know, we've had so many other scheduling problems to work out, we haven't even looked at that. I do think that would be an excellent idea, and I've had a lot of success with it, doing teaching that way, but it's not something that -

Do you have a forum for spreading that around - like sharing of experience in that success?

O, yeah. In-service meetings, informal type conversation, faculty senate - oh, definitely.

But there's an important philosophical - no, not philosophical - a sort of theoretical principle at stake here?

Right. And as I'm saying, unfortunately they are opposed to each other. If you put it forth as an important theoretical principle and a priority, you're creating a huge scheduling problem. It's not a convenience in most cases - in my case it was. But, throughout the school, if you talk about that, you're creating a scheduling problem which we have not been ready to deal with - because we have had so many other scheduling problems to work out ...

A GRADE 5 SOCIAL STUDIES LESSON (SHEILA)

Sheila explains some of the curriculum problems involved in Elementary School Social Studies in a bilingual context:

Sheila In an Elementary School such as ours where you're dealing with two languages, and a kid has to learn Spanish reading and oral English, and progress towards English reading, that takes time, so they're going to lose something in the curriculum out of necessity, to put in the basics. So several of the students miss out on Social Studies, because you put your priority into Reading, Maths and Language Arts ...

The teaching of Social Studies, if you take curriculum, just

> basic curriculum in Elementary Schools - first grade is the neighbourhood; 2nd Grade is the city, okay, in other words, the larger concept. 3rd Grade, you go a little but further into various parts of the world and get some global ideas, that the world is bigger than your little city and your little neighbourhood. Then in the 4th Grade, you usually take in types of climate and study culture according to climate, and there you can bring in anything on South America. If you want to use a Caribbean country for a hot climate example, then that's the ideal time. The 5th Grade Social Studies is the United States. Now, I spent the first three months of the 5th Grade getting across the idea of city, state, capital, that Puerto Rico was a commonwealth, not a state, what an island is, okay? Why? Because as these kids come up, if they've been programmed into several Title 1 classes, English and Spanish, they don't have everything a regular English speaker would have, had they been in class all the time.'

The students who usually work at their own desks have paired up to share a printed sheet upon which is a map of the United States. Alongside the map are some questions about the geography of the United States and some questions about the early explorers and developers of the country. Sheila says, "We're going to learn about the fine State of Virginia", and translates this into Spanish. The children locate the state on the map and Sheila confirms their location by pointing to a large map of the USA which is situated on the wall by the blackboard. "Find Lake Superior" it says on the printed sheet. There is also a heading "islands" and one of the islands listed as part of the USA is Puerto Rico. Lilian, an Hispanic girl, has noticed this and comments aloud. Maria has just walked into the room. Another student says, "What's Puerto Rico?". Sheila says, "Puerto Rico is a famous island." Lilian exclaims, "Maria, I'm famous, you're famous, 'cause we're all Puerto Ricans". There is some laughter in the class.

Sheila described to us another curriculum problem:

> At one point this year, I was almost going to do Social Studies three days in English and two days in Spanish. I had really considered doing that as an alternative, but you've got to remember that my kids, even my Hispanic kids, except for two, are fairly good in English at this point, and I watered the concept down into their simple English understanding, they can understand it in English. Now, when I was absent one week, there was a substitute in here, and she just talked all the time in English, even though she knew Spanish and my four English speakers didn't understand it, because she didn't water it down.

> Your Spanish-dominant English talkers?
>
> Yea. See, you've got to water it down, I mean, it's not watering it down, it's like reducing it .. into their English language.

Sheila goes onto the next question which is about the explorers. She reads from the text and mentions the London Virginia Company. "What's a company?", she asks. Mike replies, "Like the Boston Herald America." "How do you know it's a company?", Sheila asks. Mike replies, "I do." The word 'company' is translated by and for some of the Hispanic pupils. Sheila asks, "Michael, what do you need to make a paper?". He replies, "Ink, paper, print, news." "Yes", Sheila says, "You need news. How do people get into the newspaper to make news?" Mike replies, "From crime." And Sheila asks, "How do you make more news?" The student says "Print it." "Okay", says Sheila, "Supposing when the train starts on Monday," (this refers to the re-opening of the train service which runs alongside the school via a bridge), "Supposing when the train starts on Monday, it comes through our window. How would the reporters know?". "The boss tells the reporter what to do."

Sheila later explained more fully to us what she meant by "watering down":

> A President is in charge of us, is head of our country, like me being in charge of you - that's watering it down, so the President is in charge of all of us, instead of just saying the President is the leader of the government, of the USA, which goes right over their heads."

Back in class Sheila asks, "Who is the boss of the USA?". "Jimmy Carter." "And who's the boss of Massachusetts?". "Jimmy Carter." Another student says, "Major White." Sheila explains that bosses are leaders and then goes back to the next alongside the map.

The children are then asked to read from the text beginning at the account of Jamestown. When the children read aloud, their different attainment in English reading is quite noticeable.

If there is actual watering down of the curriculum Sheila believes it relates not only to language problems but also to the availability of time. The conversation develops into specific problems of bilingual pedagogy:

Okay. But the problem with teaching Social Studies here is the language ... ?

No, no. The problem with teaching Social Studies is that we're dealing with two languages and it's taking time, not in Social Studies but in reading. If I was in another school where I did not have Anglos, and I had three-quarters of my children only one year in bilingual, I would be teaching social studies in Spanish, and translating into English, and maybe doing it the other way. There are only good English texts in Social Studies, I have yet to find a good Spanish text in Social Studies.

Okay. Let me concentrate on the teaching for a minute, you've done training in bilingual teaching, right, what's distinctive about bilingual teaching?

Not that they couldn't understand it, but if I have to teach in one language ...

But what's the difference between bilingual teaching and teaching in English and Spanish alternately the same lesson? Or is there none, is that what bilingual teaching is?

I don't know. See to me it's very hard to describe bilingual teaching, because every year my bilingual teaching changes.

Does it? Can you give me an example?

It has to change. This year I have nine speakers of English out of a class of 25. Nine native English speakers. Then out of the rest of them, who are Hispanics, seven of them have been in the school six years and know a lot of English.

Of the ...

Of the Hispanics. Seven of them have been here six years, so they know a lot of English, they're at 3rd Grade level in English. This particular year, I can use English as my main language. But another year I might not have ...

Give me an example of another year.

Like, in another school that I was in, I took all the Hispanics, and an Anglo teacher, she took all the English kids, because we had divided homerooms, we had homerooms that were mixed, so we were team teaching. I was a 2nd Grade teacher, okay, there were two of us, I was the bilingual teacher and she was the regular teacher. So I took all the Hispanic kids and did it in Spanish, the same thing she was doing in English.

The homeroom principle, the homeroom bilingual principle; is that the same in all bilingual programmes?

No. It varies.

Peculiar to the school?

Peculiar to this school, yes, and to some other programmes. Some other principals say that the homerooms must be mixed, in other classes they are totally segregated...

Right, hang on, so another principle of your bilingual teaching is that both language groups have to hear the other language being spoken in the class, right?

Yea, oh yea.

Right, okay.

I mean even when I speak Spanish, Marion, who is a native English speaker, understands a lot of the Spanish I'm speaking because she's also had Spanish for five years - she's had Spanish as a second language. But the difference is that I've no kids this year that never had Spanish. So every year when you sit those kids in front of you, every September, you have to start by asking, what do they know, what can I teach you.

At present in Maths I always use English, there is not one of my kids who cannot understand the maths concepts in English, okay. Once in a while, on an introduction to a new lesson, Margareta, who really is my poorest English speaker, who is in my room with maths, I would go to her individually and translate That lasts about half a year.

Are there any subjects, like homeroom subjects, that you would teach in Spanish?

No, I couldn't because I have English speakers.

No, okay, but have there been times when you've had ...

Oh, when I've had only Hispanic kids, yes, and ...

And have you taught only in Spanish then?

Yes, exclusively in Spanish, at the beginning. It depends on your brain level and who's in front of you. And I think your experience, also there's another thing I think is an element in all of this, which is, what is your native language as a teacher? Because Catalina, who can speak English and who's been around, and her kids understand a lot of English, would probably do it in Spanish first. I think you know there are some people who you look at them and you say, because of the situation we have here, because I'm a native English speaker, and I've got the 5th Grade, I'd do English first. But suppose I had these same kids, exact grouping in Grade 2, the majority would be Spanish and I would do Spanish first and English second.

So even though it is bilingual teaching, within the pedagogic exercise there is still a dominant language? And that's another principle. So you choose at the moment to have the dominant language as English?

> Yes, unless I am teaching straight English reading or straight Spanish reading.
>
> Okay. What's the difference? Is that the only difference between the bilingual programme operated here, and the ESL programme? What change ...
>
> ESL, strictly, you're not supposed to do any Spanish at all, or anything else, only English. Think of the immersion programme, ESL is really that. If you were a definite English teacher, ESL teacher, you would never speak Spanish or any other language except English. Okay?

Perhaps relevant at this point is a biographical note - making connections between curriculum and curriculum vitae. Sheila is one of the seven white American teachers on the faculty. She came from Rochester, N.Y., went to High School there and later became a nun, a Sister of Mercy ("I came from a conservative Irish Catholic family.") She learnt some Spanish in the convent and went out to Chile to work with the Columbans. The task was religious education and social work, her colleagues mainly Irish and English. It seems that it was a period of moral crisis for Sheila, because when she returned to the US after three years, she left the order and became a 'regular teacher'. It was during classes at this time, that she met her husband-to-be, a teacher of English as a Second Language. He persuaded her to turn to bilingual education. He then went to work in Saudi Arabia, and Sheila, feeling no ties to Rochester, moved to Boston and took a teaching job at Hawthorne School in Roxbury. Her fiance returned to the US, they married and moved into a house in Charlestown.

She has been in Boston now for nine years.

> It was a revelation. I didn't know I was Irish until I came to Boston. When we lived in Charlestown I was frightened to tell the neighbours that I taught in Roxbury. They knew I taught in Public School, but when I heard them talk about blacks, I knew I couldn't tell them where I worked.

No stranger to racial tensions, Sheila had been living in Rochester and teaching there at the time of the 1965 race riots. She lives now in Quincy, which "is different, though there are lot of Irish families there who have moved out from South Boston as they have made money, and their attitudes are little changed."

Before coming to Hernandez, Sheila worked in bilingual administration for three years. She, therefore, has some experience of supervising teachers and administering programmes. She knew Maria before she came to the school. "The school is much improved since she came," Sheila says. "How has it improved?", I asked. "There used to be too much Spanish and no structure for teaching English," she said emphatically. "And before Maria, we didn't have a 'Principal', only a teacher-in-charge, and it was only with Garrity's judgement that small schools got their own principal. Before that there was no-one in the school who had clout. They just didn't take any notice of us. But more than that, Maria brought organisation."

** ** ** ** ** ** **

We began this sample of lessons with the Kindergarten, and with the arrival of the Aquarium staff. We close with another "visitor", the Home Economics teacher:

HOME ECONOMICS LESSON

Into a Special Education classroom comes a woman carring a large brown paper bag. Under her arm are some posters. From the bag she takes carrots, some potato peelers and a plate.

Her students today are slow learning Hispanics. The Cuban aide assisting her is fluent in both languages. The Home Economics teacher has been allocated to the school by the Downtown Office. She teaches in various schools in the district on a rota basis.

She holds up a coloured poster which shows an egg-plant - its English name printed beneath and the Spanish name pencilled in beneath the print. The teacher asks, "Have you ever had an egg-plant - Do you like that?" This is translated by the aide to the children in the form, "The teacher says, 'have you ever had an egg-plant - do you like that?' " A picture of a lettuce, then one of a pimento are held up. The aide translates into Spanish.

Home Economics Teacher:	Egg-plant - Have you ever had egg-plant? Do you like that?
Aide:	Berenǧena. Tu lo comes ... muy sabrosa. Oue es eso? Lechuga (lettuce).

H.E. Teacher: That grows above the grass, see?

Aide: Eso crece ... de la tierra, crece debajo ...

H.E. Teacher: Carrots. That's what we're going to have today. They grow under the ground - they get dirty. When you buy them, they're pretty clean and I wash them again with this brush - a vegetable brush - I scrub them so they're nice and clean. Okay? And you're going to scrape them and eat them raw if you want. Okay? Raw vegetables are better than cooked. Can you tell them that?

Aide: ... la zanahoria.
Entendia lo que la maestra ha dicho, que hay que hacer con la zanahoria antes de comerla? Ahora, que haddicho ella? Lavarla bien con que?

Pupil: Un cepillo.

H.E. Teacher: Peas? Do you all have them?

Aide: Guisantes.

H.E. Teacher: Some of you have never had peas? Never? No? You've never had peas? Peas grow in a pod, like this. You don't get fresh peas now.

Aide: Uds han comido guisantes? ... No? ...

H.E. Teacher: They grow above the ground like beet, and they have greens and sometimes people eat them ...

Aide: Eso crece abajo de la tierra y entonces la gente tambien se puede comer la parte ...

H.E. Teacher: You've all had beans at some time, right?

Sometimes they're green verde, is that right? How do you say it in Spanish?

Pupils: Verde, si.

(All talking at once.)

H.E.Teacher: French fries - they're better for you baked, in their skins. Have you ever had them put in the oven and baked in their skins?

....

H.E.Teacher: Ask them if they have ever had baked potatoes.

Aide: .... asada (baked)?

H.E.Teacher: In their skin.

...

The aide, noticing the spelling of Spanish for 'pimento' takes the poster, corrects the spelling and draws the Home Economics Teacher's attention to the correction. This correction does not disturb the teacher or the students.

The introduction of a range of vegetables complete, the H.E.Teacher returns to the main topic of the lesson - preparing carrots.

H.E.Teacher: Have you ever helped your mother get vegetables ready? Just Tina. She's the only one? You can eat carrots like this, you know. These are so clean you almost don't have to take anything off, and that's the best way to eat them.

Aide: La mejor forma de comerse las zanahorias es asi, con la ...

H.E.Teacher: But if you want to scrape some of the skin off, you can use this. Everybody's going to take turns. All right? You go lightly, like this, just take a little off, because the best part is near the skin. Can you tell them that?

Aide: Es mejor pelarla ... se quita muy poquito ... se quita a la ..., okay?

H.E.Teacher: This is how you're going to do it. Rest it like this, and go lightly like this. Okay? Let's see you do it, Jose. Hold them like this. This is the sharp part. Don't cut your finger. Very good! Okay, come on. Keep your fingers out of the way. Don't press down.

(A carrot is held vertically, being scraped in that position.)

Aide: ... el dedo ... para que no le cortes tu.

H.E.Teacher: Tell them not to press, just do it lightly.

Aide: A... Arriba, arriba, mas arriba! Asi no te cortas tu.

H.E.Teacher: Do you like carrots? Do you ever have raw carrots at home? See, just go lightly. Let's see you do it. This is the sharp part. Remember, I told you about the knives - right here, this is sharp.

Aide: Donde esta el filo del cuchillo?

H.E.Teacher: Okay, there you are, you have that. ... You like carrots? Do you have a knife like that? Okay, let's see you do it. Now this part, hold it like this. I have two more knives - do you want one?

...

H.E.Teacher Do you want to help them?

Oh, yes - yes.

... Don't do this unless your mother says so. ...Sometimes you can them up like this and make sticks out of them. Carrot sticks - they're easier to eat, a little more dainty. Have you ever had them? Cut them up smaller?

H.E.Teacher: What are carrots supposed to be good for? Do you know?

Aide: Sabeis hay que buena las zanahorias?

H.E.Teacher: Your eyes. They're supposed to help your eyes.

Aide: Para los ojos. Mira que hay buena para los ojos.

H.E.Teacher: My mother used to tell me they'll make my hair curl (laughter).

(The class is excited - they are all talking at once, in English and Spanish).

*** *** *** *** *** *** ***

H.E.Teacher: You know when we talked about knives. What else did we say about knives? About washing knives? Do you remember? When you wash dishes at home.

Aide: La parte del lado del cuchillo que, cuando quiere lavar el cuchillo, que ha dicho ella? Como hay que lavar el cuchillo?

HE.Teacher: Nobody washes or dries dishes at home?

Aide Quien lava los platos en la casa? -

H.E.Teacher: Remember when I said you don't put knives in with the others? In the dish pan, because you cut yourself when you go in after them? You keep them out and dry them separate.

Aide: Que no se pone el cuchillo ... porque si ponen la mano en la agua se cortan. Hay que tenerlo aparte ...

(Chatter)

H.E.Teacher: And when you go home from school, you should have some carrots instead of potato chips, or candy, or something like that. Do you have carrots at home, do you have carrots in the house as a rule? Most of the time you have carrots at home?

Aide: Quien come la zanahoria a menudo en su casa? ... candy?

H.E.Teacher: They don't even have to scrape them, they can eat them just plain. Just scrub them with a scrub brush and eat them.

Aide: No hay que pelarla. La larga un poquito con la brocha y se la comen. Y en vez de comer candy o comer bizocho o comer ..., bueno, ... zanahoria a mas ayudarle. Se pone amarillo si come un gran cantidad (you will turn yellowif you eat a lot.)

(Chatter, washing of hands, etc.)

Home Economics, and particularly the preparation of food, marks an area where cultural differences impinge on the curriculum directly. The teacher

says that French fries, which the children all eat, are not the most nourishing way to prepare potatoes and suggests that baked potatoes are more nourishing. It emerges through the aide that none of the children have had baked potatoes. One of them is heard to say that his father grows French fries. She is surprised that only one child, a girl, has ever helped her mother to prepare food. In Puerto Rican homes, men and boys tend not to work in the kitchen, and few young girls are called upon to help. Another indication of the absence of the children from kitchen duties is that none of them seem to wash or dry dishes at home, yet the teacher talks about how knives should be dried and stored separately. At one point she says, "My mother used to tell me that carrots would make my hair curl!" Translated, this produces raucous laughter. The children do not offer an answer to the teacher's question - that carrots are "good for the eyes". After the children have cut and tasted the carrot the teacher concludes "And when you go home from school you should have some carrots instead of potato chips." The aide comments to the children in Spanish that too many carrots make you turn yellow.

Such clear differences are not apparent in areas of the curriculum like Maths, or as markedly in learning to read, but they are in areas of the curriculum where the distinctive life-styles of the two cultures are most apparent.

Perhaps this can be seen as an illustrative case of how a teacher manages a bilingual class when she has little but her own culture and cultural referents to bring with her. This teacher is conscious of the problem and in an attempt to ease it attends weekly classes at the school to learn Spanish (along with a number of parents). She also seeks the help of the bilingual teachers both for her teaching and for her understanding of the Hispanic culture. Nevertheless, her arbitrary assignment to this school forces her to find strategies for coping with her lack of Spanish:

> Well, I try when I come here to plan things so that I don't have to do much talking. Not too many of the Special Education children understand English that well. So it's a lot of things that I can show them, although an aide or a teacher is supposed to be there in the room with me, so that if I can't get the point across to them then they will. They'll be the translator, see, because there is an aide and a teacher in every room in the bilingual programme. There is always somebody in the room who can speak Spanish.

Right, right. Do you pick any things up from them? Cultural insights?

O, sure, yes. Like I thought tacos was a Spanish food, so when I was explaining corn meal to them, I said, "You know, what you make tacos out of," and the aide said, "oh no, tacos is a Mexican Spanish food, not Puerto Rican." They didn't know what I was talking about, when I talked about tacos.

And you try to learn these differences?

Yes, I try to. And the teachers are good at explaining a little bit about the background or foods like baked potatoes, Sheila told me they seldom have that: the teachers, here, are very good about giving me suggestions of things to cover.

One of the aides here from Puerto Rico was telling me she had never heard of apple sauce, until her daughter made it in school. We try to teach them things, different foods and things that they wouldn't get at home.

What sort of difference does it make to you teaching in a bilingual setting?

Well, if I think there's a language barrier, I do cooking or sewing where I don't have to speak very much ... if I know there's too many that don't understand I plan something that I don't have to talk, as I say it's a waste of time. Some of the children will translate for you, too - they like doing that - and I usually ask them, I'm trying to learn their language, so I ask them to explain. I will say, 'how do you say that in Spanish?'

There are just a few words that I have to know. I learned how to say 'sit down', very fast - that was one of my first - but as I said, most of them by the time I reach them, do speak English. So there isn't really that much difference.

Next week the H.E.Teacher gave a similar lesson for the 5th Grade homeroom class and she brought along some baked potatoes for the children to taste.

PART THREE - PAIRING, SHARING AND CARING

INTRODUCTION

> "You know we once had a visit from a man in the Physical Education Department at Boston University. He came here on the pairing arrangement. The first thing he asked was where our gym was! When I explained that we didn't have one, he said that at least he assumed all the kids would turn up with sneakers and sports clothing! We thought maybe he had the wrong school!"
>
> (in interview with Maria)

There are important respects in which the Rafael Hernandez considers itself to be an autonomous community within the Boston Public School system. Relative freedom from external accountability (despite the rhetoric of accountability associated with grants), magnet status, special recognition from the courts and, of course, the political security of being a prominent community investment. But more subtly perhaps, staff claim autonomy from external social and political forces through their personal and esoteric understanding of the school's purpose and ethos.

Throughout negotiations of this account, the school faculty pointed to a fundamental weakness in our perspective in not recognising the extent and importance of the warmth in staff/student relationships. A persistent claim was that our report was too "mechanistic" and too dismissive of the "caring" relationship faculty had with their students; and, furthermore, that too heavy an accent was placed on "divisions" between staff. The negotiator from the research team tended to resist the argument, perhaps accustomed to treating teachers' claims to a 'caring' function as a weak rhetoric. Through force of argument and regular invitations to watch events of intimacy between teachers and students, we were persuaded to include this final section of the case study on the social milieu of the school.

Ultimately it is not hard to be so persuaded in this school. You only have to notice. You may be waylaid on your way into Wendy's class by one of the Cuban teachers who is excited. "Come and see my disco! Bring your camera!" She has a tape recorder playing Hispanic pop music and her class of five year olds are lined up in rows laughing and dancing. The aide is clapping and smiling and all are enjoying a break from lessons. Then, in

the 5th Grade, while talking to a group of students in one part of the classroom, hearing Sheila trying to control a problem student. She negotiates and allows him to answer back, until they come to an agreement. (Three days in strict observance of the class rules in exchange for inclusion in the forthcoming trip to the Plymouth Plantation.) On other occasions, watching some of the younger teachers in conversation with the older students talking almost woman-to-woman.

In this section we offer some brief cameos - 'snapshot' events and encounters of a kind you might notice if you were to spend some few weeks in the school. (For the most part these are fragments from field-notes.)

IN THE OPEN AREA

The open area is in frequent use for a range of activities. There may be large sheets of paper laid out for mural-painting - one day an extensive 'Charlie Brown' cartoon for a graduation ceremony backdrop; another day for the rehearsals of 'West Side Story'; Music and Movement sessions are held there; a pizza-party thrown by Christine to celebrate her leaving with her class. If there is nothing happening in that area you feel as though the school is empty. You might, on the other hand, observe the following events:

The Honours Roll

Wednesday afternoon. The school is assembled in very orderly fashion, one class at a time, in the open area. Students are being presented with certificates having been placed on the Honours Roll for achievement or or effort (The latter award being entitled 'School Spirit Award'). Each homeroom teacher is called out to announce the names of the pupils who have consistently scored high marks in class, sufficient to merit the honour. Those whose achievement may not have been high but who have shown marked effort and commitment are awarded the 'School Spirit' certificate.

There is a definite hum of expectancy. I am standing at the back with Wendy and Silve who are as excited as the students - this ceremony is a confirmation of the success of the school. Maria stands at the front in nervous authority, requests silence and proceeds to call the teachers to make the awards. (I note that it is the teachers rather than the aides who come to the front.) "In our class I have seven people on the Honours Roll" one teacher announces, to be greeted by gasps of admiration from the kids (prompted partly by the teachers). Seven is a prestigious number for the class.

The students are called out one by one. Wendy, until she is called to make the awards herself, gives me something of a commentary. "That boy comes from such a bad home background ... when that girl first came into this school she couldn't even ..." Rarely does the event lose its tension as the students sit with a fair degree of concentration and clear interest to see who is to be honoured. It is obvious when an award is popular. It is accompanied by cheers and louder clapping. A girl received the award amid cheers and a reassuring nod from Wendy. A few minutes later there are louder cheers as her sister goes up for the award in the next class - that's justice to the girls as well as to the audience.

The event was keenly anticipated that morning and proceeded with enthusiasm and excitement. It clearly expressed school solidarity, though the ritual also had a disapproving face. One class only had one student on the Honours Roll - an announcement which was delivered with some solemnity and which was greeted with an appropriate silence. It was a keen exercise to encourage aspirations in the students and to set the joint student/teacher goals. One boy received an award with a special mention for having had no absences over the whole year - an achievement of significance at Rafael Hernandez. As each award was collected the teacher received and possibly expected to receive a kiss from the kids. Some delayed to turn the kiss into a hug.

5th Grade Graduation - The Rehearsal

One day, walking through the open area, I witnessed a rehearsal for the forthcoming 5th Grade Graduation.

The 5th Grade class assembled in a semi-circle, with their teacher conducting in the centre, singing the songs that are to be performed on the day to the accompaniment of a rather crackly cassettle-tape recorder. First they sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" and then Precosia, a popular song from Puerto Rico written by Rafael Hernandez. The students held song-sheets in front of them as they stood to an approximate attention. Both songs were sung with a rather perfunctory gusto with all mouths confidently opening and closing to mouth the words of the American anthem. The English-dominant students had a little more difficulty with the Puerto Rican song and, reading from the sheet, took rather more effort. Their singing was a little faltering and one or two simply going through the motions of opening and closing their mouth whilst the braver ones tried to sing out aloud.

As I stood there listening, one of the Cuban teachers came up. "You know", she said, "I just talked to the teacher. I told her not to sing the Rafael Hernandez song immediately after the American anthem. Some people might think this is the Puerto Rican anthem and it isn't."

Note

Sheila - the teacher responsible for the Graduation Rehearsal later pointed out to us that she was well aware that the song "Preciosa" by Rafael Hernandez was not the Puerto Rican anthem. She had chosen it for the simple reasons that it was easy to sing and because many people knew it. It was the predominance of these concerns that led her to remove the American anthem from the programme and to include the more melodic and inspiring, "America". In fact, during the Graduation Ceremony itself, the Principal explained the relationship of the songs, since both have similar themes, and because "Preciosa" has a special meaning for the school.

Teachers' Party

Thursday lunchtime and another party. This time it is for the teachers and aides - the students have been sent home early and the open area converted into a party space with tables adorned with paper table-cloths. Food is served - salad, a rice dish and a rather flamboyant trifle - along with coca-cola. The occasion is to mark imminent chilbirth for Mariana, Felicidad (an aide) and Janice,as well as Christine's leaving. Teachers and aides sit in groups - Wendy sits with the aides - as the four VIPs are called out one-by-one by Monica (a teacher) to receive their presents. There is much barracking and joking, a lot of noise and a great deal of eating. Each receives at least two presents - the pregnant three all taking a baby-care 'kit'. Felicidad receives a couple of presents from Wendy and Silve. As Christine steps up, things turn somewhat embarrassing for me and for Alberto, the part-time music teacher. We, and Michael (the Security aide) are the only men present, and Christine is to open a parcel holding lingerie. "Show what it is!" "Hold it up!" See if it fits!" And I am embarrassed - if only because Christine so obviously is - though, as always, she takes it with robust humour.

Half-way through the party enter Cathy and Marje (from the Aquarium). The Aquarium pairing is coming to its end after three years and this party is an opportunity to mark its passing. Marje receives a particularly warm welcome and a little present from the staff. Later, Maria told me that she had offered to keep the link with the school on an informal basis.

PLYMOUTH PLANTATION

The Plymouth Plantation is the model community replicating the first white American community set up by the 'Mayflower' immigrants. This visit is to prime the students for their own journey to the plantation the following week.

The lady from the plantation arrives at Sheila's classroom, a little late. She is dressed in full costume - the residents of the community replicate the original life-style on a part-time basis - and quickly sets to work in front of Sheila's 5th Grade class. She establishes an identity by slipping into a very good English accent throughout her presentation. "Things be mighty difficult - now I'm talking as Martha Cook - when you falls sick", she might say and go on to describe that aspect of family life for these of America's forerunners. She concentrates on the hardships and the particular social bonds created under these conditions. The class lis.ens - apparently rapt - as she explains that children will start work when they are at Kindergarten age. There is silent amazement as she explains that the community may take children away from parents to prevent the development of close emotional ties which could make sickness and death a heavier burden than it has to be.

The class is allowed to run over time - it lasts for about one-and-a-half hours. I am taking photographs and so is a photographer from the Hispanic newspaper "El Mundo". He and a reporter are here to do an article which is to be published a week later under the title "Escuela Rafael Hernandez: Modelo Educativo" and which will be one of a series charting the newspaper's continuing interest in the development of bilingual education in the US.

The class is attentive throughout despite over-running. The students are rewarded at the end by 'Martha Cook' allowing them to play with a range of artefacts she had brought along (churn, pestle and mortar, etc.) and by dressing up in costumes she has also brought. One of the smaller of the 5th Grade Puerto Rican students causes much amusement by dressing up in an overly large costume of seventeenth century England.

'Martha'makes particular mention of the attentiveness of the class which she says is the best she has yet come across. Maria is present for the whole visit - visibly excited along with the kids - a little 'mother-hen-like'.

She talks at length with the El Mundo reporters, who are encouraged to spend a half-hour observing. The event is conducted throughout in English although 'Martha' demonstrates to the students that she speaks fairly fluent Spanish - having taught in Cuba for a number of years. She occasionally translates a word or two into Spanish and, sometimes, asks the students for a Spanish translation of a word.

KINDERGARTEN GRADUATION

It is the morning of the last day the observers will spend in the school. Kindergarten is graduating today, parents have been invited into the school and there is some anticipation amongst the staff of an event which always brings out the most affectionate responses from teachers towards their pupils. There is always the food, too. Whatever special event takes place, it seems, Janice and Hilary mark it with food, and this will be no exception.

I miss the first part of the ceremony - foolishly, for it comprises a little cabaret performed by the Kindergarten graduands. When I arrive Maria has started making the presentations - graduation certificates. The children are dressed in their best clothes and all are wearing black paper mortar boards. Their costumes, their expressions of amazed innocence and their shy but fussy gait as they walk to and from Maria, draw smiles, comments, jokes, flash-cubes and, above all, admiration from parents and teachers. The parents, about 25 of them, are seated in a semi-circle against a wall, creating an audience and a stage for the proceedings. Fathers pop up and down, angling for camera positions. It is almost a dazzling event.

The presentations over, Maria's short speech through, the revelry begins. A tape-recorder plays Latin-American music and the food table is uncovered. As is the custom in Kindergarten, the food is a multi-cultural collection. Italian cookies, West Indian rice dishes with 'black-eyed beans', Latin-American-Chinese egg rolls, Carribean plantain chips, American 'gateaux' and punch. The awkwardness of parents standing around is gradually and skilfully eased by Maria, Janice, Hilary and Dorothy, who circulate and chat. It is important to do so. Kindergarten students come in by bus, so the staff do not often get to meet parents. Now is the time to recruit students for 1st Grade. I do my own circulating, taking the opportunity

of talking to parents. Juan's father, the first I meet, came recently from the Dominican Republic and has a limited but developing fluency in English. He and his family were living in Jamaica Plain but moved to Dorchester two months ago, at which point they brought Juan to the Kindergarten. They are considering moving out of the area again, but the possibility of having Juan attend the Rafael Hernandez is making them think twice. Why did they come to America? At this point, Maria joins us to talk to Juan's father and I turn round, catching the eye of a slight, rather shy American lady who turns out to be the parent of another graduate - Michael.

Michael is a white American child - he has a sister in 1st Grade. His mother knew she wanted her children to go to a magnet school and she examined all of the prospectuses, finally choosing the Hernandez School for its bilingual programme and its "intimacy". She was impressed by its warmth. She watches her children's progress closely. Her daughter is bright and took second place in the "Spelling Bee" - she doesn't feel held back at the school since the levelling system allows her to study with the 2nd Grade. I ask about her interests and she tells me she is a piano teacher and housewife. She talks a little more, and explains that she comes into school as a volunteer helper one afternoon each week. The experience of getting close in to school and watching her daughter working made her reflect on her own piano teaching. She teaches using rote-learning methods - getting her pupils to learn chords, notes, staves, etc., and though they learn the mechanics of music - they recognise the music symbols and are able to reproduce the musical exercises - there now remains a question over their understanding and 'feel' for the music.

This time it is Janice who robs me of my conversation and on my next turn I meet another white American parent - this time the father of Julian, a small somewhat retiring youngster who has, quietly and out of sight of adults, smeared his share of gateau over most of his face. Julian's father served with the Peace Corps in Chile during the immediately pre-Allende period and feels embarrassed by American intervention there. We talk for a short white about Allende. Did he learn Spanish in Chile? Not a great deal. He is hoping that Julian will stay on at the Hernandez School and, together, they can pick up a second language. Besides that, the school is a good choice for its friendly atmosphere and comfortable size.

THE SCHOOL PICNIC

One of the gains from the Boston University pairing arrangement is some small funding for the school's picnic. I am told, almost as soon as I arrive back in the school for my second visit that I am included in the picnic arrangements on the athletics committee. I duly turn up at 8.45 a.m. on the Tuesday to find a mixture of staff, parents and students loading the school buses with food and coal for the barbecue. Most of the adults, which includes about ten parents, are given responsibilities and generally these cover entertainments and food. We set off a little later than planned - our destination is Lake Cochituate, a favourite picnic park about fifteen miles outside of Boston.

The buses arrive at the lake, students explode out of them like shrapnel bursts whilst the adults labour under the weight of the equipment and within half-an-hour barbecues are being set up in the wooded area whilst out on a field a game of chaotic English soccer (the first choice of the kids) is being played with at least 30 in each team (plus a number of individualists simply angling for a kick of the ball). The excitement attracts more teachers - Eva, Mariana (who has recovered from mild pregnancy sickness on the bus), Susan, Paul and others join the teams and shout encouragement. A free kick is taken - a shot directly at goal. Eva stands in front to obstruct the shot - unfamiliar with the game and unaware of the danger - and receives the ball full in the face, kicked by one of the bigger 5th Grade boys. It was an accident, and, though Eva is stunned and clearly hurt, it is taken in good part with plenty of jokes overlaying the concern. The game resumes.

The day continues with a variety of events. A tug-o-war, again with swollen teams reaches a climax as the students challenge the staff to a pull. The staff lose - the students bounce around like champions whilst the staff laugh incredulously at the loss. Running races - team and individual events - all loosely organised and loosely competitive though this does not prevent every participant making maximum effort.

Lunch is announced and it proves surprisingly difficult to draw kids away from the field. There seem to be one thousand 'hot dogs' with gallon containers of relish and ketchup to be sloshed down with further gallons of coca-cola and strawberry juice. The aides have brought their own lunches

and whilst most others labour their way through the surfeit of 'hot dogs', they lay out a spread on a table which includes a variety of Puerto Rican and Caribbean dishes. Marinated chicken is warmed in the fire. Rosaria invites me and a young part-time teacher to taste some of her Puerto Rican food - spiced sausage with potatoes in fat and garlic. The table where the aides have spread their food has become something of a focus - around it have collected the Hispanic parents and relatives as well as the hangers-on hoping to taste the more exotic fare. A white American parent wanders up, is curious about what we are eating and Rosaria gives her a large helping, explaining what it is. Everyone has sufficient and a large amount is taken back to the school to be eaten later. After some clearing up the athletics recommence.

The kids are well-behaved throughout and the only 'scrap' of the day is shortlived and insignificant. Teachers are watchful, however, and parameters are placed around the apparent chaos. There do not appear to be any particular groupings of kids by ethnicity and, amongst them, it is rarely that Spanish is heard. The language of instruction on the field and of game explanation is English, and only occasionally - with the more complex games - is Mariana called upon to translate into Spanish as insurance that everyone has understood a rule. Most of the Spanish that is heard comes from aides, Hispanic parents and relatives and Wendy, all of whom shout enthusiastically during the team relays. In general, the kids seem to be responding to the game rather more than to winning.

There is a young black American boy - possibly a 3rd Grader. I have seen him before in a Title 1 class and remember him as having what are interpreted as severe behavioural problems which make him recessive. He wins a race. He is normally somewhat abstracted from surrounding events and needs a great deal of encouragement. He is pleased at winning in a way that contrasts with his usual manner - but he is quickly and summarily disqualified for breaking one of the few rules in loose operation. I have seen him in school, on occasions, the butt of his peers' humour - he is often being ribbed. But on this occasion two other boys, one of them a Puerto Rican, come to his side to argue with the teacher. They feel the rule to be unjust. Though he does not win the rosette the two boys have been forceful in their support of him.

THE MISTAKEN ASSIGNMENT

As we have seen, parents in Boston have some influence over the assignment of their children to elementary school. Even parents make mistakes, however. A young white boy came to the Rafael Hernandez from South Boston. His mother had made the error of marking this school on the pro forma instead of another school whose name also begins with 'H'. The boy turned up at the beginning of the 4th Grade and for some time was in a state of confusion. For a month he was extremely aggressive to other kids in the school - he couldn't understand why many of them were "talking gibberish". And although he had apparently never associated with Hispanic kids he knew all the appropriate (bad) words to call them! It became inevitable that, by the middle of the day, he would find himself in Maria's office for discipline and supervision (a role Maria often takes to relieve teachers of problem kids once in a while). The boy came to have many hours in conversation with Maria who sought to talk him through his prejudices against Hispanics. Following one such conversation which had lasted some time, Maria gently remainded the boy that he clearly did not hate her - and yet she was Hispanic. He was shocked. "How could you be Hispanic - you're the Principal!"
He stayed on through the 4th Grade and the following year came back for the 5th Grade.

IN CONVERSATION WITH A STUDENT

We made insufficient effort to talk to students at the school. When we did talk it tended to come in light conversation, back-chat and jokes. Formal discussion or interviews were difficult - as they always are with students of this age, but possibly more so for us coming out of another culture. For their part, the students found it hard to overcome the novelty of the English accent and too easily giggled at the pronunciation. For our part, it was hard to share the social 'banter' about life on the American streets and in an American school. Although we were easily amused:

> "Hey buddy - you know the problem with this joint? All's you can play outside is kickball. And when you's out on the streets y's always getting pushed around by the cops."

But, that's Mike talking. He puts on a show - playing the part of an adult in miniature. Maria explained how Mike had come into the school carrying the attitudes of his Irish American family - generally, though not

maliciously, hostile to blacks and Hispanics. Mike is now a 5th Grader and his years in the school have changed him. He can talk seriously:

> "We have a baseball team - outside school. We have this black kid on the team. And they didn't want him on the team because he is black. So if they threw him off, I'd quit - because he was my best friend. So then we started putting a lot of other black kids on the team..."

And then, as if to say 'well, that's the sort of thing you wanna hear' he slips back into giggling and quipping and laughing - always laughing.

DIVIDED WE STAND

There came a point in our negotiations with the school when we were at risk of losing an audience. The staff were increasingly confident of our ability to get the'facts straight'; but no longer confident in our ability to properly represent the school as a community - in their terms, with their understandings. On reading earlier drafts of this study, there were complaints of a recurrent theme of 'division' amongst the staff - prompted by the use of words such as "political groupings" and by observations of social groupings by ethnicity amongst staff and aides. Certainly aides and Hispanic teachers tend to congregate around one table of the staffroom, whilst English-dominant teachers tend to use the other table, but what sense can be made of that observation is highly problematic. Go into Wendy's room on almost any lunchtime and you can find a group of half-a-dozen staff of many nationalities and mixed language dominances sitting together on the biggest chairs they can find in a 1st Grade classroom. I joined one such group and we talked at length about attitudes towards inter-marriage in Jewish and Hispanic communities (at the time of this study four of the Rafael Hernandez teachers were Jewish). The conversation switched a couple of times and ended where a Jewish-American substitute teacher was teaching a medieval Spanish word to a Guatemalan aide - the same word could be found in Sephardic Yiddish.

And yet there appear to be clear manifestations of cultural difference. One of the Hispanic aides warned us that, in meetings, the American teachers' style was to be outspoken and spontaneous; whilst the Hispanic aides (at least the women) would tend to be reserved. At the first negotiation meetings with staff, we met the teachers on one day and the aides the next. The teachers' meeting was lively but manageable throughout with a fairly wide range of contributions. The aides' meeting the next day was

unnervingly silent until close to the end of the allotted time when there was a sudden and furious outburst from Rosaria followed by two or three of her colleagues.

There are also discernable differences of opinion amongst staff - no doubt interpersonal tensions. There is a healthy undercurrent of gossip and, whilst there is a noticeable 'overcurrent' of raised voices frequently echoing around the open area, displays of anger or temper are rare.

Susan was unhappy after one interview during which she had been pressed to talk about differences between people in the school. She took the interview tape home with her that night and as well as deleting some parts of the tape (at our invitation) she recorded her reactions to the interview:

> "I'd like to say one last thing about this theme of the divisions that exist within the faculty, which seems to be a recurring theme in the draft. Some of our differences might seem more pronounced to an outsider. Any school is going to show differences among faculty because people are people and you have different life-styles, you have different interests - you have different approaches to education. I think to focus on the diferences and ignore a record of a faculty that can work together to get things done and present a unified front when it's important, is to do us a great disservice."

She went on to explain that she frequently sat on district and city-wide committees as a faculty representative and that she noticed how cooperative her own colleagues were in comparison with those in other faculties:

> "I go to these meetings and I sit and listen to the complaints, to the problems representatives have in going back to their faculties and selling ideas - and I just kind of sit back and feel proud of our faculty. Confident in the knowledge that if something is of educational worth, they're going to get behind it one hundred percent and at least give it a chance to work."

THE FIESTA

The staff were understandably upset. We had extended our second visit by one week and this had been welcomed as a further opportunity to show us the strengths of the school community. And yet, we were to miss, by just a few days, what some teachers see as the major school event of the year - the Fiesta.

As preparations took on pace and anticipation grew the Fiesta came to be

more and more prominent in discussions with the teachers. The school was to be 'on show' to the outside - the Hispanic school going fully Hispanic and the aides would be thrown into prominence as cultural 'experts'. In a sense this was to be their day. Latin-American food, dancing and props - bursting out from Wendy's room and Catalina's and all the other places where Hispanic symbols adorn the walls - they were all, reputedly, to come to life at the Fiesta. During one visit we were entertained on a couple of occasions with rehearsals for one of the events to be staged during the Fiesta. The students were presenting a medley of numbers from West Side Story.

As our questions probed the interface between bilingual education and cultural maintenance, so teachers came to respond with what came to be a standard - "Come to the Fiesta - you'll see the culture there!" The Fiesta is claimed by many of the staff to embody the recognition of Spanish culture that the school has but which may not easily be represented in classroom situations.

> "Yes, we do have specifics in culture that we must teach. When we have a Fiesta here - you should see it. Too bad for the Anglo parent who is sitting there if everything is in Spanish. That's how we celebrate! Now you have to build up to that. The school can't be Anglo, Anglo, Anglo - and then all of a sudden have a Fiesta in Spanish. We don't do that at all. You know, it's around here all the time - but it's around in the atmosphere - in the persons the kids meet. You're looking for it in the wrong place. Don't look for it on the blackboard, or in the teachers' words..."

But the Fiesta was looked forward to most of all as a day of celebration, for the school and its friends. Some of the bilingual pioneers will be there, those who plotted and sweated it into existence. And not just Hispanics like Alex Rodriquez and Maria Brisk, but members of other linguistic constituencies like Ernie Mazzone and Rafael de Gruttola whose advocacy and support have provided critical impetus at key junctures of the schools precarious struggle for survival. The Fiesta is a day when culture as artefact and culture as heritage are transformed into culture as community, a day when, unconditionally, the school honours the history and the legacy of its Hispanic public.

SECTION THREE - THREE COMPLEMENTARY STUDIES

MARIA BRISK
LUCIA DAVID
JUAN MARTINEZ
ADRIANA RODRIQUEZ
MICHELE SOLA

Preamble

This section was completed and negotiated by the Boston University team. In style and content it differs markedly from the Case Study of the Hernandez School. The reader will find these three studies more structured, more immediately accessible and lacking the extensive detail of the previous section. Where the Hernandez School offers a five-year full transitional bilingual curriculum, the three schools represented here offer attenuated programmes as adjuncts to a mainstream curriculum. Were the Herrandez unableto offer the bilingual programme as a magnet theme, the type of programme portrayed here would constitute the major resource of the Boston School Committee in meeting the needs of their Hispanic community for bilingual education.

Maria Brisk is Director of the Bilingual Department at Boston University. Lucia, Juan, Adriana and Michele are graduate students on her programme. All have experience of working with schools and personnel in the Boston bilingual education community.

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district six

INTRODUCTION - DESCRIPTION OF SCHOOL DISTRICT SIX

In 1975, after the courts ordered the City of Boston to desegregate the public schools, the schools were divided into nine school districts, each with elementary and middle schools and a high school. Each district's administrative organization was headed by the district superintendent, who was accountable to the central office. Decisions and services not under the direct jurisdiction of the schools were provided by the central office so that services such as bilingual education, student services, curriculum development, book purchasing, and budgeting for the district were centralized.

In September of the 1979-80 year, the Boston School Department began a process of decentralization, appointing to the nine district offices supervisory personnel for service areas like Bilingual Education, Curriculum Development and Pupil Support Services.

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION				
District Superintendent Administrative Assistant				
Budget Management	Curriculum Competency	Bilingual Multicultural	Pupil Support Services Coordinator	School/Community Coordinator
	Cape Verdean Field Coordinator	Spanish Field Coordinator	2 Pupil Adjustments Coordinator	

The District VI community includes three neighbourhoods -- South Boston, Roxbury, and North Dorchester -- and ten major ethnic groups: Native Americans, Polish Hispanic (Puerto Rican, Dominican, Honduran), Afro-American, Cape Verdean, Italian, Lithuanian, Albanian, and Irish. While the children of these different groups meet in integrated schools, the communities themselves remain isolated. Organizations like Alianza Hispana, Cape Verdean, Lithuanian and Albanian social clubs, Polish and Albanian churches as well as parochial schools sponsored by ethnic groups are numerous. Many provide after-school activities for children of the particular ethnic group.

District living patterns also reflect the presence of district ethnic

groups. There are streets where only Hispanics, Cape Verdeans, or Irish and other white minorities live. Divisions are clear as one moves through the neighbourhoods and residents are aware of where they are welcome and where they are not. Although the different groups are ethnically and culturally different, they share common problems of low incomes, high unemployment, sub-standard housing, etc.

The process of court-ordered desegregation has had considerable impact on all three community areas. While schools work to provide positive integrated learning experiences for children, desegregation represents a threat to parents' rights and is viewed by many as a source of violence and an attempt to destroy the neighbourhood schools.

District VI includes 18 schools: 14 elementary, 3 middle schools, and 1 high school. The total school population is 6100 students.

DISTRICT VI			
SCHOOL POPULATION	RACE	NUMBER	
	White	2176	
	Black	2931	
	Hispanic	906	
	Native American	58	
	Asian	29	
		6100	
TEACHER POPULATION	RACE	NUMBER	
	White	422	
	Black	69	(Cape Verdean included)
	Other Minority	16	
		507	

The District provides bilingual programs one Spanish/English and the other Cape Verdean/English. These programs are offered at all levels.

DISTRICT VI - BILINGUAL PROGRAMS				
	High School	Middle School	Elementary	Kindergarten
Spanish	1	2	3	1
Cape Verdean	-	1	1	1

The three schools included in this section of the report reflect three different levels -- elementary, middle, and high -- and are located in three district neighbourhoods within the district: North Dorchester, Columbia Point, and South Boston. The bilingual programs in these schools varied in size, curriculum, and degree of integration to the rest of the school. The largest program was at the elementary level with four classrooms, four teachers, and two aides. The smallest was at the high school level with two classrooms and two teachers. Teachers felt that the smallness of their programs (in two cases they were diminishing) did not allow for their ability to offer native language courses for bilingual children who had transferred to the mainstream program or to any other children who wanted it.

Some administrators, on the other hand, felt that the large bilingual programs tended to be more isolated from the rest of the school.

Some bilingual teachers considered that the emphasis of the desegregation process was too much on assigning groups of bilingual children to schools in order to provide ethnic balance rather than assigning the children and developing programs based on programmatic considerations.

The curriculum of all the schools observed was transitional in nature with the emphasis on learning English and transferring the students to the mainstream program.

Following the requirements of the Massachusetts Transitional Bilingual Education law, non-verbal subjects, such as shop, music, home economics, and others, are taken in several cases, not with the monolingual students.

Despite the dominance of the transitional view amongst the schools, at all levels, Hispanic parents often request that their children be placed in the bilingual program, so that they can learn the Spanish that they had forgotten. Others express the desire for a curriculum that continues teaching literacy in their native language. Teachers seemed frustrated not to be able to comply with these requests because of time limitations and the lack of provision for programs of this nature in the school curriculum.

One common concern of all the bilingual teachers in the schools observed, is that the parents are not more involved in school affairs. Parents usually come to school either to bring their child for the first time, for special occasions, such as Open Houses, or when there is some problem.

Some teachers are well acquainted with their students and families. Some do outreach work with the families of their students or with the Hispanic community in general. The elementary school makes use of the District Parent Coordinator. Once a week teachers provide the Coordinator with information about a particular child for transmission to parents. Teachers report varying degrees of success with the process. There are no special organizations for bilingual parents in any of the schools, and although the system hires Hispanic lunch mothers for the elementary level, there were none at the particular school we visited.

The bilingual program throughout the city of Boston is characterized by high mobility among students. The following table shows how unstable the composition of bilingual teaching programmes can be whilst overall numbers are fairly static.

MIGRATION PATTERNS

	Started Sept.	Left	Newcomers	Total Feb.	May
Middle School	31	9	18	40	NA(not applicable)
High School	32	10	12	26	30

The changes occur because students come from or move to Puerto Rico another district, or another town. Whenever a family moves, whether to another area of Massachusetts or back to Puerto Rico, at least two weeks interruption of schooling takes place while students await reassignment.

Teaching styles vary according to the task and subject matter. The smallness of the bilingual staff does not decrease the heterogenity of their teaching styles, including everything from highly individualized attention to traditional large group instruction. Where there are aides there is also variety in the way the teacher utilizes their services. As the teaching styles vary, so do the reactions of the students. Some

teachers use a completely individualized method of instruction that allows the students to work at their own pace and interact with the teacher in their own language. In one school this method was used in an integrated situation with Spanish-dominant and English-dominant students in the same classroom. Other classes are taught in the traditional style; students in rows of seats, listening, while the teacher at the front of the room talks. At other times, the children work in groups while the teacher checks from group to group to see if aid is needed. Sometimes, two classes go on simultaneously, the teacher allowing a group to work independently but checking with them occasionally. Class activities tend to be devised along a continuum where the teacher is supportive, but expects independent work which, concurrently, allows for cooperation among students.

None of the schools visited were magnet schools. When asked about magnet schools as an alternative for bilingual students, one bilingual teacher said:

> "I would not opt for a magnet school because of the distance problem. A magnet school is not necessarily better, but they do get more money and draw kids from a larger area ... Perhaps there is more leveling of students, but nothing different about the type of student."

THE RUSSELL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Lucia David & Michele Sola

The Russell School, typical of many Boston schools constructed in the 1930s, is a three-story brick structure with high ceilings, large windows on all outside walls, and a central staircase which divides the building into two halves. It is located on Columbia Road, a main thoroughfare with boundaries on the three communities encompassed by District VI. Within a few blocks of Black, Hispanic, and White neighbourhoods, the Russell's location is considered desirably neutral. Children are predominantly bused to the local school from the surrounding neighbourhoods of South Boston, Roxbury, and North Dorchester.

Most of the classroom space is on the first and second floors, with the

bilingual classrooms all on the second floor. A library and auditorium are on the third floor, and the kitchen facilities, music, and home economics room are in the basement, as in the bilingual Resource Room. Other school programs are dispersed in available space wherever possible. During warm weather, outdoor recess is held at the schoolyard in the rear of the school, which doubles as a staff parking lot.

The school is composed of 17 homerooms: 4 extended-day kindergartens, 9 mainstream and 4 bilingual classrooms. Additional staff such as Title I, Resource Room teachers, part-time personnel, teacher aides and lunch mothers also contribute to the educational program of the school.

The bilingual program at the Russell School has been in existence for three years, enjoying greater guidance from the district coordinators, greater materials and curriculum availability, better discipline and coordination with the mainstream program.

RUSSELL SCHOOL STAFF							
Principal Secretary							
STAFF	Homeroom Teachers	Title I Teachers	Resource Room Teachers Special Education	Part-time Teachers	Aides	Health personnel	lunch mothers
SERVING ENGLISH DOMINANT CHILDREN ONLY	4 extended-day kindergarten 9 1st/5th Grade	2 reading	1	1 speech-therapist	2 kindergarten 1 transitional 3 Title I 1 library*		
SERVING BOTH ENGLISH DOMINANT AND BILINGUAL CHILDREN IN ENGLISH		1 maths		music 2½ days/wk. Home Econ 2 days/wk		1 nurse 2 days/wk 1 doctor 3 days/wk 1 counselor 2 days/wk	six
SERVING BILINGUAL CHILDREN ONLY	4 1st/5th Grade		1		2		

* fundeo the State through 636 desegregation funds

The Staff

There are four bilingual teachers and two bilingual aides assigned to the Russell School. The 1st Grade teacher had surgery shortly before our observation began, and thus, the 1st Grade teacher we observed was a substitute teacher. She is from Columbia and had been in the school two weeks before we arrived. She was educated in the United States.

The 2nd Grade teacher, a native of Puerto Rico, is in her first year of teaching in Boston. Previously, she taught in New York. She was educated partially in Puerto Rico, and later completed a Master's degree in New York.

The 3rd Grade teacher, originally from Cuba, is in her second year with the bilingual program at the Russell. She was educated in the United States.

4th and 5th Grade are taught by a U.S. born, native English speaker in her third year with the program. The Resource Room teacher is from Ecuador and was educated in the United States.

The two bilingual teachers' aides work in various capacities within the bilingual program, in instructional and non-instructional duties. One aide is from Puerto Rico and works closely with the 3rd Grade teacher. She does translating throughout the school and may communicate with parents of Hispanic children in either the mainstream or the bilingual programs, and assists in instruction of reading and maths. Many times, she works alone with students having the most difficulty in class. The other aide, a Venezuelan, works mainly with the 1st Grade teacher and with the 4/5th Grade teacher on maths, allowing for individualization and language grouping.

The Students

Of the 341 students in the Russell School, 129 are Hispanic, 71 of whom are enrolled in the bilingual program. Most of the Hispanic students are Puer o Rican, born on the U.S. mainland.

	RUSSELL SCHOOL POPULATION		
Ethnic Group	Mainstream Program	Bilingual Program	Total
Hispanic	58	71	129
White	120	0	120
Black	85	0	85
Native/American	6	0	6
Asian	1	0	1
			341

Because of the winter inclement weather, we were unable to observe the interaction of students outside the school. However, inside the classroom, during instructional and non-instructional time, we noticed enthusiastic interchanges between the children and the teachers and aides.

We observed a range of student commitment to the classes they were taking, but every child we saw was excited by at least some class activity. Homework is a regular component of the curriculum, and several teachers remarked that the students are disappointed if they do not get a substantial amount. Despite the unfavourable comments we heard about parental involvement in their children's education, students seemed to believe their progress was being monitored at home, and on a couple of occasions, we observed parents in the school office inquiring about their children's schoolwork. One teacher mentioned to us how much children anticipate the issuance of report cards.

Discipline is strict throughout the school but follows the individual style of the teacher. One of the frequently observed strategies in bilingual classrooms, was to keep everyone working, even during indoor recess, leaving little free time for unruliness. Assignments, particularly readings, are posted in predetermined areas of the blackboards, so students know where to look for assignments and can work undisturbed by what other groups are doing. In the Resource Room, students who have finished their work are allowed to play with educational games appropriate to their level.

When discipline involves more than the teacher and student, the matter is

referred first to the principal and then to the parents, if necessary, though this is relatively rare. Should parents be involved, the bilingual aides or the classroom or resource teacher contacts them. In extreme cases, the District Parent Coordinator may be called upon to intervene with the parents. An analogous process is followed in other administrative issues in which parent input is required, such as truancy, assignment to the monolingual program, academi progress or health problems.

The Curriculum

a) Leveling

Reflecting a system-wide push to implement individualized instruction to the fullest extent possible, students are informally assessed by the teaching staff together with the District Coordinator and placed in small working groups for maths and reading, instead of being taught in large undifferentiated groups by grade.

Homeroom assignment is by chronological age, but group assignment for maths and reading in both Spanish and English can necessitate moving to upper or lower groups as in the Hernandez School. In the 4th/5th Grade, there are groups working separately in Spanish and English. Students seem to know where they belong at a given time and make classroom to classroom transitions smoothly.

Two bilingual teachers attended special summer workshops to acquaint themselves with the procedures for assessing student needs for leveling.

b) Subjects

- Reading: An emphasis on the teaching of reading is noticeable throughout the Russell School, and the bilingual program is no exception. Each day begins with a silent sustained reading period during which all students, teachers, support staff, and the principal stop what they are doing and read. Students are allowed to bring books or newspapers from home to avail themselves of school materials. Some of the bilingual teachers have spent time, energy, and personal funds to create Spanish classroom libraries. In addition, weekly visits to the library are a regular part of the reading program. The school library, created with funds from 636 desegregation assistance money, is a source of great pride within the

school and contains some books in Spanish as well as English books about Puerto Ricans and members of other nationalities. The students in the bilingual program use books from both the Spanish and English collections, and those with the best pictures, according to one teacher, are by far the most popular.

Spanish reading is taught at all levels. A unified curriculum (Santillana series) and scheduling arrangement was implemented by the bilingual teachers and District Coordinator this year, enabling students to participate at the appropriate reading level for them. The number of levels and individual groups is constantly changing; decisions to restructure the levels are made cooperatively by the bilingual teacher. In each classroom, several individual reading groups take place simultaneously, the teacher circulating around the room or a teacher and aide working with different groups.

Oral English is taught to students still learning the basic Spanish reading skills. Concept and vocabularly development in English help these students practice articulating ideas in England and prepare for English reading. Most of the students learning oral English are Grades 1 and 2, as the older children have mostly begun to read in English.

English reading is introduced when the child has reached a teacher-determined proficiency in Spanish reading and oral English. Increased emphasis is placed on English in the upper grades as it becomes more likely that students will be transferring to mainstream English programs within and upon graduation from the Russell School. The materials used for English reading are selected from the same School Department approved options for both mainstream and bilingual programs.

Students seem more motivated, and thus better able, to deal with symbolic concepts and reasoning activities in Spanish than in English. In the 2nd Grade, children were analyzing fables in Spanish and learning to interpret an animated film by listening to subtleties in the musical accompaniment. On another occasion, a recurrent theme in Hispanic culture was illustrated through reading a story, "La Historia del Trigo", the history of wheat being transformed into flour and its use was illustrated in detail, using the various lexical items for different stages in the process, tools used and final products. The class discussed how their

Puerto Rican forebears, the Taino Indians, processed wheat as well as the more contemporary industrial methods of milling flour.

In the 4th/5th Grade, the students seemed thrilled by a poem they analyzed in terms of form and content. They showed genuine curiosity about the historical setting in which the poem was written, the vocabulary items different from their own dialect, and the way that poems are constructed. There was visible enthusiasm for getting to the next section of the book. This was in contrast to the kind of verbal recall and recognition more common in English reading lessons, though the overall attitude towards reading was positive, regardless of the language.

There are students who need extra reinforcement in reading outside the leveled classroom groups and there are supplementary programs through Title I and the Bilingual Resource Room.

Maths: Maths is also taught in all classrooms. Methods of teaching vary distinctly. Each teacher has an idea of what must be covered in a year's time, yet all seem more concerned that the students master basic concepts well before pushing on to new ones. Some maths classes are highly individualized, and the students work on worksheets before meeting with the teacher in small groups to review specific concepts or to be introduced to new ones. Other classes meet wholly in small groups, with the teacher and aide dividing responsibility for them. Still other maths classes meet all together, going over concepts and doing the same exercises without accounting for personal level of proficiency. Then, the teacher grades the exercises individually and points out where the child made mistakes. Students who need extra help in maths and can understand English can work with a Title I maths teacher who supplements the regular teacher's lessons or, in more severe cases, with the Bilingual Resource Room teacher.

The majority of maths teaching we saw centered on basic skills. There was virtually no reasoning and little application of mathematical concepts to real life situations. In part, this reflects the difficulty in obtaining good maths teaching material since those commercial available are predominantly in English. The one book available in Spanish has few reinforcement exercises and is not considered well sequenced. Most of the teachers use it and supplement it with materials from English maths books.

Language usage in maths classes is generally consistent with the program-wide pattern. Spanish is used more than English in Grades I and 2, while in 3rd, 4th/5th Grade classes, English usage increases, with explanations offered in Spanish if there is confusion. Students who have grasped a concept in English are encouraged to explain it in Spanish to peers who have not. Title I maths assistance is offered in English. Classroom aides are often assigned to help students who need explanations in Spanish.

- Social Studies: Social studies is an important part of the curriculum at the Russell School, though its teaching is alternated with that of science lessons. We were there close to Lincoln's birthday and thus saw many different approaches to a lesson on the 16th American president, since teachers often plan lessons around holidays or current events.

Most of the 1st Graders have not been in a kindergarten or preschool program, thus limiting their social studies lessons to readiness skills such as listening activities, cutting, colouring, and the like.

The 2nd Grade social studies curriculum is a source of avid interest among students. Evidence of the social studies units decorates the walls and demonstrates the inter-disciplinary approach taken towards each unit. In one lesson, there were references to language, music, art, systems of government and ways of making a living in a culture that no longer exists but is manifest in the Puerto Rican culture common to most of the students. The children began to recognize those vestiges of past culture and animatedly asked questions about the historical process leading to current, tangible cultural phenomena. This was one of the attempts we saw to integrate the culture of the children into the curriculum content, an apparently effective way of involving the students in discussion, regardless of their reading ability.

We did not observe any social studies lessons in the 3rd grade.

In the 4th/5th Grade, social studies is an irregular component of the curriculum. One of the different things about implementing this subject is the level of English reading ability required to understand the available textbooks. There was a wide range among these students. In

addition, the textbooks are fairly dated and take for granted certain cultural experiences far removed from those of these urban children with a very different set of cultural traditions. All these factors were of essence in a lesson planned around Lincoln's birthday.

Current events are discussed and the students had brought in newspaper clipping from around the world to display on the bulletin board, underscoring the teacher's continuing search for new and better ways to make social studies a regular part of the Grades' program.

- Science: As mentioned, science and social studies are elective subjects and each individual teacher decides which of the two will be taught in a given week.

The 3rd Grade science curriculum is taught in two different ways. We observed a review and test of a Spanish unit on weather. During the review, many tangible objects, such as a globe, had been integrated into the discussion. An experimental science programme developed with State funds is also being carried out in this class. Once a week, the mainstream 3rd Grade and the bilingual group get together for a 45 minute combined lesson in English. The week we were there, the class reviewed a previous lesson on invertebrates and was introduced to an array of invertebrate shells, which were passed around for the children to handle. Another part of the lesson was introduction to vertebrates via posters and illustrations. Future lessons were anticipated on botany, specifically germination. Each child deposited a seed in a glass of water, put their name on it, and placed it in the classroom window for observation.

During the class, the children were seated in mixed language-dominance groups and the bilingual teacher was available to translate the questions posed in English for the students who could not understand.

- Music: The Russell School has a music program in which the bilingual students participate. The teacher is the same one for both bilingual and mainstream students, although she does not speak Spanish. The music book contains songs from around the world, except from the Carribbean. The teacher incorporates hand motions, repetition of phrases and dances into the class to enable even those who don't speak to participate. Familiar

songs are interspersed throughout the lesson, many at student request. New songs may be seasonally appropriate. The music teacher and the rest of the staff put on a Christmas show in which every child in the school participates.

The 2nd Grade students receive separate instruction from their classroom teacher in music from Latin America and Puerto Rico. The history behind music and dance forms is explained using pictures, traditional stories, musical instruments and records. The students learn the words to songs and the dances that typically accompany them. The shyest and least participatory students in the rest of the curriculum are the most enthusiastic and willing to take part in this activity. During observation cross cultural parallels were drawn to ensure that all the children could identify with a musical tradition in their culture.

- Home Economics: The 4th/5th Grade curriculum includes a weekly class in Home Economics parallel to that given in the mainstream program. The teacher speaks no Spanish but encourages interaction between students in Spanish if there is a need for clarification. Activities such as embroidery and cooking were observed wherein the teacher works individually with students throughout the class period.

- Other: Two of the areas that most people at the Russell School would like to see incorporated into the curriculum are art and physical education. It is rare to find a school with these plus music and home economics, since the Boston Public Schools have difficulty staffing and funding these courses.

c) Bilingual Resource Room

Students are assigned to the Resource Room if the core evaluation indicates that placement in the regular bilingual classroom is insufficient.

The process of core evaluation starts with a referral from either a parent or teacher who has observed learning difficulty in a child, and then proceeds in a similar way to that described in the Hernandez study.

The student may come for a particular subject or for several hours, reading especially is the area in which assistance is needed. Each child works individually in class, has specific homework assignments,

and has a folder or notebook in which a record is kept of his or her work. According to the teacher, short attention spans necessitate lots of reinforcement and a supportive atmosphere, and her biggest responsibility is to provide these. The teacher interacts with the students using the language in which the student is best able to learn. This decision is based on extensive involvement of the teacher with the parents, community and the student. In general, Spanish is used more with the younger children, English more with the older.

The Resource Room was operating in temporary quarters at the time of our observation because of lack of heat in the regular room. It is always a hive of activity. Students work on individual projects while the teacher helps them one at a time. Students circulate in and out of the Resource Room according to academic needs. The original location of the Resource Room is spacious, decorated on the walls and ceiling with the students' work.

Cultural Displays

At the time of our observation, the most striking evidence of cultural awareness in the school was Chinese, in response to an official declaration of Chinese month and the efforts of a member of the Russell School staff. Evidence of other cultures was also found in the library, where books deal with many world cultures and many cultures in the United States. The bilingual classrooms vary in the amount of Spanish language and culture that is portrayed in the room itself, and the individual classes and subjects differ in the amount of emphasis placed on culture.

The Philosophy of the Program

The philosphy of the bilingual program at the Russell School is predominantly one of transition to English. There is a general tendency to use Spanish more in the early grades while a gradual switch to English takes place in each successive year. This pattern holds for formal instructional use as well as for informal teacher to student and student to student conversations.

In individual cases, children needed significantly greater reinforcement in Spanish than did their peers, and they received it from the

classroom teacher and, in Grades 2 through 4/5 from extra classes in the Bilingual Resource Room. English language skills and English reading are taught by the bilingual faculty as part of the regular curriculum. Title I assistance in English begins in the 2nd Grade for those who need extra help learning English.

Once a student is transferred to the mainstream program, there is no further exposure to Spanish during the remainder of his or her schooling at the Russell. Decisions about moving students from the bilingual to the mainstream program are made jointly by the student's teachers, the school principal and the Bilingual Coordinator. The parents have a chance to respond to a change in program. This procedure is used when the switch is made within the Russell School and also when the child enters middle school. Many of the Russell's 5th Graders do, however, continue in a bilingual middle school program.

THE McCORMACK MIDDLE SCHOOL

Adriana Rodriguez

The school is located on Columbia Point, the large scale housing project mentioned earlier. A neighbourhood health centre shares the site with the school and the elementary school. The buildings lack the traditional impressive facade, being rather a two-story sprawl completely fenced off from the street, with an entrance set back from the street. Access is via a paved incline which permits easy handling of wheel chairs for those handicapped students who attend the McCormack. The entry door is customarily left ajar, and there is usually a custodian near the entrance who welcomes visitors with a friendly gesture. No one is required to sign in.

The 6th Grade classrooms and the four bilingual classrooms are on the first floor. The 7th and 8th Grades are on the second floor. The bilingual classrooms are adjacent to one another for easy communication, except for the Bilingual Resource Room, which is across the hall. The 7th and 8th Grade rooms are contiguous as students are combined and grouped in those two grades according to different subject areas. The seven homerooms for students in Grades 7 and 8 are all on the second floor.

Bilingual students are bused from North Dorchester and Field's Corner, and a number of them walk from nearby Columbia Point. A few students are transported to school by parents who have moved to an area not serviced by the bus system but who, nonetheless, wish to have their children continue attending the McCormack.

The school was formerly for students of Grades 4-8, primarily from Columbia Point. In 1974-75, the first year of desegregation, it became a middle school with approximately 100 bilingual children in the program. As of 1977-78, however, half the bilingual student population was moved to the Gavin Middle School to achieve a better balance of students under desegregation policy. Presently, the bilingual student body is fewer than 50 students, so the number of bilingual teachers has been reduced, from 5 to 3. There is also a Resource Room teacher. This personnel reduction has changed the structure of the program the leveling of students, and the subject area responsibility.

The Staff

The number of teachers on staff at the school is 47, comprised of 22 homeroom teachers, 10 specialist teachers, 9 special needs teachers, 3 bilingual teachers, 1 bilingual Resource Room teacher, and 2 monolingual aides who work with the Title I teacher. Of the English-dominant mainstream teachers 3 are bilingual, 2 teach Spanish as a foreign language, and one is Italo-American.

The remainder of the teaching and resource staff is English-speaking monolingual including the administrative staff. Between 85-90% of these people are white, and 10-15% black. The principal and two assistant principals are white; one of the two guidance counselors is black. The male/female ratio of teachers at the McCormack stands at approximately 60 males to 40 females; in the bilingual program, two teachers are male, two female.

One of the assistant principals told us that the school enjoys a good atmosphere and that the school has fostered a positive relationship between the community, school personnel, and the Hispanic families with children enrolled at the McCormack. This view was shared by the bilingual teachers. The assistant principal and two of the

bilingual teachers also told us that while the staff feels some distance between themselves and the external administration, the relationship with the internal administration is of a close nature.

No apparent problems in terms of racial or ethnic tension beset the school. In our visits to the school, we observed faculty and students interacting in a friendly, relaxed manner, with several of the teachers and the two assistant principals addressing students by their first names.

The consensus of opinion we gathered was that both mainstream and bilingual teachers have positive attitudes towards the bilingual program although attitudes of individual teachers varied. In one class, interaction within a group of English-dominant and Spanish-dominant children was carried out smoothly. The Hispanic children made an effort to speak English with the other children in the class; all worked together and seemed to be enjoying themselves. The teacher monitored the activity but allowed free interaction. Another teacher, on the other hand, working with a similarly mixed group, attended to the white and English-dominant Spanish children while ignoring the Hispanic students, allowing them to chatter away in Spanish, on topics unrelated to classwork. In another instance, the instructor spent the first third of the class trying to get the children to work, yet never seemed to gain control of the class. Disciplinary threats, poor pronunciations of Spanish names and slowness in instruction were consistently accompanied by incidents of misbehaviour by the students.

Teachers and the Bilingual Program

Most of the day responsibility for the bilingual program lies with its faculty. Decisions are made within a committee of bilingual staff, the assistant principal and mainstream teachers. The grouping of bilingual students within and across classes is done by the bilingual faculty. The main criteria for grouping involves assessment of their skills and their needs. Materials for the bilingual curriculum are selected by the bilingual teachers.

The bilingual teachers meet among themselves and with those mainstream teachers who have bilinguals integrated in their classes to coordinate

scheduling and to discuss educational issues. In addition, all meet as a "faculty" to talk about programs and progress. The bilingual teachers expressed the feeling that this school is, in this respect, atypical; thus pointing up a general expectation that such relationships would typically be poor:

> "The good relations existing between the two programs are seen in the clustering for social science, where mainstream students join bilingual students in their classroom for class content to be taught in both languages."

One of the bilingual teachers had, the previous year, run for faculty senate and had come in second. One colleague commented:

> "It makes us feel good that we are an integral part of the school...on the other hand, she is outspoken and committed, not up to feeling "different" or isolated just because she teaches bilinguals."

The bilingual teachers do *not*, in fact, feel isolated - they sense support. When, for example, management problems occur, they either solve the difficulties themselves or go to the administration, the vice principal in particular, for advice. The Resource Room teacher shares a lot of her problems with the head of Special Education.

The bilingual teachers use both languages interchangeably in and outside the classroom, with native speakers correcting each other's usage freely. Presently, there is no training for bilingual teachers taking place, although, in the past, for example, workshops in career education have been offered.

The work experience of the bilingual staff varies from a minimum of 3 to a maximum of 19 years inclusive. Their experience at the McCormack ranges from 1 to 7 years.

There are four teachers in the bilingual program. The 8th Grade teacher, Spanish-dominant with functional fluency in English, was born in Puerto Rico and has been on the mainland for five years. He holds a B.A. in Education, History, and Social Studies from the Colegio Universitario del Turabo, in Caguas, Puerto Rico, and is presently working toward a Master of Divinity at Andover Theological School in Newton, Massachusetts.

He had taught in Puerto Rican elementary and middle schools for eight years prior to coming to the McCormack, where he has taught for five years. He has also worked as director to an after-school day-care program at Oficina Hispana, in Jamaica Plain, Boston.

The Resource Room teacher taught elementary and middle school for one year before starting at the McCormack almost two years ago. She is U.S. born English-dominant with a good command of Spanish which she learned six years ago in the U.S. and in Guatemala. She has a B.A. in Sociology and Latin American studies from Simmons College in Boston, finished in 1975. She is also certified as a Transitional Bilingual Education teacher and is currently enrolled in a master's degree program in Special Education at Boston State College.

The 6th Grade teacher is also U.S. born and English-dominant. She learned Spanish from socializing with Hispanic people and has lived in Puerto Rico. She earned both her bachelors and her master's degrees at Brooklyn College in New York in 1959 and 1964. She has completed course work towards a Doctor of Education degree, with an administration specialty and a bilingual education concentration, at Boston University. Her 19 years of teaching have taken her from New York to Detroit, Puerto Rico, and Boston, teaching elementary school through the university level, working with students of various social and cultural backgrounds.

The 7th Grade teacher also English-dominant learned Spanish majoring in Latin American studies and Education at Yale University. He has always had a number of Latin friends, a desire to travel in Latin America and a general "liking" for the language. He has his master's degree in Community Education from Goddard College. He has worked in integrated neighbourhoods in the U.S., at youth camps, and in Peru.

The bilingual teachers appear to be well-informed about the home situation of their pupils, and they told us they are promptly in touch with parents whenever a need arises. One of them lives in Dorchester, and is actively involved with community work there, "albeit not necessarily with my student population."

The native Puerto Rican teacher, admitted a close involvement with his students outside of school, even though, at times, he feels overwhelmed by the social and family problems that plague some of them.

The 6th Grade teacher felt there were insurmountable problems in the lifestyle of her students, as most live in families on "welfare relief and headed by the mother."

The Students

The school has a total of 700 students, about 120 of whom are Hispanics not in the bilingual program. About 300 students are in the 6th Grade. Two 6th Grade classes are preparing students--including two Hispanic--to go to examination schools from the 7th Grade on. A large number of graduating 6th Graders move to parochial schools.

There are 40 students in the bilingual program, ages 11 to 16 years old. Thirty five are from Puerto Rico, two from Columbia, one from the Dominican Republic and one from Guatemala. Almost half of the children in the bilingual program are in the 6th Grade, an equal number are in the 7th Grade, and only a few children are in the 8th. This pattern of decreasing enrollment seems consistent with that throughout the school.

Students from Columbia and Guatemala seem most vulnerable to the stresses of transition; Puerto Rican students, according to the teachers, have generally become immune to the pressures imposed by uprooting because, for them, it has become a way of life.

The language ability of entering bilingual students varies from being monolingual in Spanish, to having reading and writing ability in both Spanish and English. Some students have no literacy whilst others are at their natural grade level. The bilingual students we observed spoke to one another exclusively in Spanish in the halls and cafeteria, but addressed teachers in either language in the classroom.

Attitudes in the school toward the bilingual program vary but one

teacher told us:

> "The racial ambience in the school has changed drastically from what it formerly was. Bilingual students now feel free to venture anywhere in the building, to mix and walk around without fear or apprehension."

One of the mainstream teachers, who has bilingual students in her class, commented to us that the English-dominant Hispanic students systematically tend to gravitate towards the bilingual classrooms where their friends are. Nonetheless, there is a difference in points of view among the teachers as to whether bilingual students reject their own culture. Some expressed the feeling that such rejection is common to the majority of students. Others disagreed. Both the school and the teachers are concerned with the issue, and the bilingual teachers try to deal with negative attitudes towards self and one's own culture.

Leveling

The students are leveled primarily according to oral ability in English and to oral and reading proficiency in their native language. In addition, individual English reading is assessed with an instrument recently introduced into the Boston Public Schools, the Individualized Criterion Referenced Test. The students are grouped by grade level achievement rather than by age, which in 6th Grade, for instance, varies from 11 to 15½ years. The scheduling is sufficiently flexible for advanced 6th Graders to join 8th Graders for Spanish language instruction.

The priorities established during the course of curriculum development have put language at the top, followed by maths and social studies. For students characterized as "special needs", more emphasis has been placed on reading, maths and behavioural problems, specifically, withdrawl and lack of motivation.

Subjects and Schedules

Grade 6 is self-contained with a bilingual teacher, whereas Grades 7 and 8 are pull-out. The 8th Graders are in a single homeroom, but the 7th Graders are split into classes A, B and C for homeroom assignment. Bilingual students in the 7th and 8th Grades are combined according to the subject taught.

Because many of the Hispanic students have been born in Boston, teaching the history of Hispanics is aimed at strengthening the student's sense of having roots. The Spanish-dominant teacher instructs in Spanish, and throughout the week, devotes 5 hours to Spanish, 5 to Mathematics, 3 to Science, and 2 to Spanish Culture.

The English-dominant teacher teaches English as a second language, social studies, and career education. He uses both Spanish and English for instruction. In his weekly schedule, 15 hours are reserved for teaching English, 6-7 for social studies and 2 for career education. In addition, 2/3 hours a week are assigned to instruct a mix of bilingual and monolingual students in a Spanish/English language exchange, where pairs of students, one bilingual, one monolingual, perform an identical reversal of sentence translations. This teacher expressed a wish that "bilingual centres" could be set up where mainstreamed Hispanics would be encouraged to study Spanish and/or Hispanic culture.

The 6th Grade teacher teaches English, maths, and Spanish daily, while social studies and science are normally given 3-4 times a week. She uses mostly English to address herself to the class, but will readily switch to Spanish as well.

The Resource Room teacher teaches English grammar, reading, and maths, 45 minutes daily for each subject. She uses English and Spanish with her students, the latter particularly in informal conversations.

Grade Level	Bilingual Program			Mainstream Program
	6th Grade Teacher	7th Grade Teacher	8th Grade Teacher	
6th	Maths English Spanish Social Studies Science		Advanced Spanish Science Cultura Hispana	Title I Health Art Music Gym Shop Library
7th		English Reading Social Studies English/Spanish with monolingual	Maths Science Spanish Cultura Hispana	Homeroom Gym Title I Health Art Shop
8th		English Social Studies	Maths Science Cultura Hispana Spanish	Homeroom Gym Music Health Shop

7th and 8th Grade students receive homework every day in all their subjects, while 6th Grade students prepare at home for spelling tests, usually given twice a week. Maths homework assignments are given to students 2-3 times a week, mostly on problem-solving and money. In the Resource Room, homework usually consists of reading and maths assignments.

In cooperation with other teachers, the 7th Grade teacher is coordinating a work-study program. Both bilingual and mainstream students participate in the project.

Curriculum Materials

Within the bilingual program, classrooms contain books in both Spanish and in English, each teacher selecting their own texts. A set of

encyclopedias in Spanish and a Spanish dictionary ordered by the 6th Grade teachers were awaited. The Spanish selection in the library is small. The 7th Grade teacher encourages his students to use public libraries in the area teaching them the mechanics of borrowing books.

The Resource Room has several books in Spanish, including a series on Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans on the mainland. The teacher told us that these books are often used by English-dominant Hispanics curious about the language and culture of their family.

It was agreed by all the teachers that the Spanish materials are generally under level as compared to English materials, some of the texts being regarded as more appropriate for students in Grades 4 and 5 than those in the 7th and 8th Grades. Some 6th Graders we observed were working on a 5th Grade text book.

"Extra materials", by our observation, are teachers' tools utilized to capture students' interest and to build their incentive to read. Weekly use is made of the Dorchester community papers, which carries news of local events apt to affect students' lives, like the area's housing situation. These issues are then analyzed, discussed and reasoned out, and classes speculate on consequences, remedies, and social implications of events.

Transition to the Mainstream Program

The transition into the mainstream program appears to be gradual. Bilingual students take several courses in the mainstream program, including shop, art, gymnastics, music, and Title I reading. (See Table IX).

We observed bilingual students in a shop class learning macrame under an English-dominant teacher with no other English-dominant students present. When necessary, the teacher called upon one of the students to translate instructions to a recently-arrived Hispanic student with no knowledge of English. In integrated situations English is the language of instruction, and one teacher explained that, with bilinguals, stress is placed on vocabulary.

Culture and the School

The school philosophy towards culture is best evidenced in the course given by a bilingual teacher on Anglo, Black, and Hispanic culture, in which students from all three groups participate. In the teaching of Hispanic culture, textbooks close to the students' background are favoured; one text was titled "Cuentos Puertorriquenos". The social studies teacher remarked that books imported from Spain tend to present a European perspective on historical events in Mexico or South America.

The cultural display most likely to impress the visitor is in the 8th Grade class room. There, descriptive posters showing parts of the human body, labeled in Spanish, decorate the walls, along with colourful posters of well known Puerto Ricans. Another classroom contained a political map of Puerto Rico and letters of the alphabet illustrated with examples in both English and Spanish. During an informal period in the 7th Grade classroom, popular Puerto Rican music was played softly on a tape recorder while students engaged in various individual activities.

SOUTH BOSTON HIGH SCHOOL

Juan Martinez & Maria Estela Brisk

Founded in 1899, this school is located in South Boston, a geographically isolated and predominantly white lower middle class neighbourhood which suffered disturbances during the early years of school desegregation. Although attitudes in the neighbourhood remain little changed, the situation inside the school has apparently improved since desegregation. The police cars, metal detectors, and police are no longer as visible as they were.

Housed in a massive four storey brick building on top of a hill, the school commands a neighbourhood of small wooden one-family houses and quiet streets. There is a ground space around the building used as a

parking lot. No yard or sports field surrounds the school.

The main doors of the school are high, heavy doors which are closed most of the time but unlocked. Visitors entering the building sign in and indicate their destination. Though police are no longer evident there are plainclothes security guards (including one Hispanic) at the entrance who direct or escort visitors to their destination.

The school has attracted a great deal of interest since the desegregation plan went in effect. During our visit there was another study being conducted there by a professor from Harvard University.

The main office is located on the second floor, directly above the receiving area. It is small and almost always crowded with teachers and students.

The headmaster's office has a meeting space with a long table and chairs. It gives the impression of being the working table for most of the administrative staff. The auditorium and the library area are located on the second floor.

There are 46 classrooms, all with high ceilings and large windows. The bilingual classrooms are on the first floor. Originally one large classroom, it has been divided into two smaller ones. One teacher has decorated her classroom with maps, national heroes, and other features of the native countries of the students. The other teacher has a terrarium and charts with fish and other science subjects in both Spanish and in English. There are also pictures of the students' special activities on the wall and samples of other high schools' newspapers in a corner dedicated to the production of the school bilingual newspaper.

The first bilingual classroom was established in 1975 and contained 18 children. The program was eliminated towards the end of the year, and the children were transferred to another school. In 1977, 80 Hispanic children and four teachers were assigned to South Boston High. Since 1978, the program has consisted of approximately 35 students and two teachers. One of the bilingual teachers who came

in 1977 was transferred to the mainstream program when the bilingual program shrank. In addition, other bilingual teachers have been hired for the mainstream program in the past three years.

Administration and Staffing

The personnel of the school numbers 102 made up of 4 administrators, 5 departmental heads, 6 Vocational Education Teachers, 70 teachers, 2 Title One teachers and 1 security chief. Other personnel include 20 security aides and 5 custodians. A bilingual counselor was hired later in the year. The administration includes a Headmaster, a Director of Program and Staff Development, an Assistant Headmaster, and 5 department heads (2 black) for Vocational Education, Instructional Services, Community Services, Administrative Services, and Student Services.

The headmaster came to South Boston High School from Minnesota, where he worked as an assistant principal of a junior high school which had a racially integrated program. He has a friendly personality and displayed a positive attitude towards our study being conducted at this school. He took us to meet some of the bilingual teachers in the school, and his relationship with them and students showed to be one of cordiality. Greeting students in the hallways he called them by their first names.

There are five English-dominant and one Spanish-dominant guidance counselors in the school (three whites, two blacks, and one Hispanic, recently hired). Students are assigned to counselors by alphabetical order. The new bilingual counselor will be in charge primarily of the students on the bilingual program. Previously, a bilingual counselor used to visit the school once every two weeks, since he was in charge of visiting several schools in the district - most of the counseling in this school was the responsibility of the bilingual teacher. The new counselor is based in South Boston High but will also be responsible for two other schools. She completed her bachelor's and her master's degree at the University of Puerto Rico and has worked as a counselor in Puerto Rico. She has met the students in the bilingual program but also went by the classrooms, introducing

herself as the new bilingual counselor and inviting students to visit her office, located near the bilingual classrooms. So far, only two Hispanic students from the mainstream program came to see her: one was referred by an English-dominant counselor; and one came voluntarily.

There are 70 teachers in the school. 62 English-dominant and 8 Spanish-dominant. The two bilingual classroom teachers have been in the school for 3 years. The other Hispanic teachers work in the mainstream program.

One of the teachers in the bilingual program is originally from Panama, though she completed her undergraduate and graduate education in the United States. Presently, she is pursuing her Certificate of Advanced Graduate Study in Administration at Northeastern University. The courses she teaches in the bilingual program are English as a second language (ESL); English reading; English reading and writing workshop; and science.

The other bilingual teacher is Cuban. She received her undergraduate degree in Spanish from the University of Massachusetts. Presently, she is completing her master's degree in Education at Antioch College. She teaches Spanish, Maths, and Social Studies. There are Hispanic teachers in the mainstream program supporting the work of the bilingual program. They come from Cuba, Puerto Rico, Columbia, and Mexico and work in various departments such as Modern Language, Mathematics, Auto Body, Business, and Home Economics. Four completed their higher education in the continental United States while the others received their education in Puerto Rico or Latin America. The number of Hispanic children in their classes ranges from all Hispanic to one. As well as these Hispanic teachers there are also English-dominant teachers with varying degrees of fluency in Spanish. Hispanic children spend much of their time in mainstream classes with English-only speaking teachers. One science teacher is Irish and has been in the school for 13 years. He has four Hispanic students in one section and two in another, (including two still in the bilingual program, one of whom knows little English). He feels his greatest problem is getting the children to come on field trips--an essential

part of his class. Once he wrote a letter to the parents translated into Spanish by one of the bilingual faculty. The letter explained the field trips. In addition, before the last trip, he telephoned the parents individually, and five out of six Hispanic students came.

One of the Spanish as a second language teachers is English-dominant. She calculates that one fourth of her class is composed of Hispanic students. She has been in the school for three years. Originally a French teacher, she took Spanish in High School and was assigned to teach Spanish because of demand. She hopes to go to Mexico for a while to live and to improve her Spanish. According to her, students take the Spanish class as their own choice: Hispanic students, because they want to improve their vocabulary; and English-dominant students, because they live in Spanish neighbourhoods and want to talk to friends. They also find that learning Spanish provides them better job opportunities. Some of the English-dominant students have been taking Spanish for three years.

The Students

As of January 5, 1980, there were 925 students registered in the school, although daily attendance is around 60%. The present school population is 45% White, 46% Black, 8% Hispanic, and 1% Other Minorities.

The students in the school come from the areas of Roxbury, Dorchester, and South Boston. All Black and Hispanic students are bused to the school. In addition, the school offers transportation to and from the train station, two miles away to those students and visitors who need to leave at a time other than regular dismissal.

Discipline problems are handled by the "Advisor's Office", and students who have engaged in fights may be suspended from school for one day or more. In addition to teaching, one of the Hispanic teachers works at the "Advisor's Office". As he expressed it, he was chosen because the school has a large number of Hispanics, and they needed a person who could deal with this group of students and could call the homes when necessary. He says that there are never any problems with Hispanic students in the bilingual program. If there is any,

it's with the Hispanics in the mainstream program, and these, always, are minor problems.

The students on the bilingual program are bused mostly from the Upham's Corner area of Dorchester. There are currently 30 students; 13 males and 17 females. The majority are Puerto Rican, four are from Columbia, and three are from the Dominican Republic. From discussions with faculty - both bilingual and mainstream - and from classroom observations we concluded that the bilingual students get along well and do not have serious problems among themselves. They have a polite way of relating to others, especially to teachers and "grown-ups" in general. They call their teachers "Mrs" and listen to them. Female students seem to be closer to the teachers and have a friendly relationship with them. Male students seem to be more quiet and reserved.

The attendance of students in the bilingual program is good. During our visits - in the middle of winter - while some mainstream classes experienced up to 50% absenteeism, only 10% of bilingual students were not in class.

Students like the program and the school. This was the opinion of a group of five students we interviewed individually. They are not afraid to come to this school every day, although they are afraid of the neighbourhood. Whenever students are required to stay after class for any particular reason or activity, they will do so only if transportation out of South Boston is guaranteed. Hispanics, as well as black students, are not let out of the school without an escort.

The bilingual classroom teacher said that of the total number of students in the program, half could attend college if they decided to do so. The majority of these students motivated to attend college are female. This year, three of the four students expected to graduate have applied to continue higher education. Two of them want to pursue careers in science, such as premedical, engineering, and nursing.

The Hispanic students of the bilingual and the mainstream programs get along very well, and they usually know each other from their neighbourhood, bus, or a class that they take together.

The Curriculum of the School

The school curriculum includes the regular subject matters offered in most of the high schools in the country, such as Languages (English, Spanish), History, Mathematics, Sciences, etc. In addition, the school offers four cluster programs: A School Within a School (S.W.S.), which provides a liberal arts curriculum; the Boston City Hospital (B.C.H.) which includes field work in the hospital; the Transportation Learning Center (T.L.C.), for auto mechanics skills; and Counter Point, which provides skills in home-making and clothing. The T.L.C. program was discontinued because of financial difficulties. Students have substituted this class for the Auto body class offered within the school.

The cluster courses are taught early in the morning, after which students attend regular courses.

The school program is divided into four marking periods of 45 days each. Students can change from one program to the other every 45 days. While they are registered in these programs, students spend half their school day in these courses and half in regular academic courses. All four programs mentioned are taught in English.

Another program within the school curriculum is the Explanatory Careers program, designed to give 9th Graders an opportunity to explore different careers offered by the program mentioned above.

In general, the school curriculum is arranged so that language courses are taught in the late morning and the afternoon.

Since South Boston High is the highest Title I eligible school in the city, great emphasis has been placed on the whole school in the development of literacy and improvement of self-concept among students. This effort is reflected in a gradual increase in reading scores.

This school does not have a Special Education program for Hispanics.

The Bilingual Curriculum

The bilingual program in this school is transitional. On the first school day students in the school select the courses they would like to take that semester, but bilingual students are placed by the bilingual classroom teachers at a level and in a course appropriate to their academic and linguistic achievement. The evaluation takes place in the first week of classes. Leveling follows previous models seen in this report.

Subject matter is offered in their own language and with Hispanic teachers. At the same time, the students learn English at their own level.

The courses in the bilingual program are:

Period	Teacher I	Teacher II
First	Reading & Writing Workshop	Spanish
Second	ESL I	Free
Third	ESL II	Spanish
Fourth	ESL III	Algebra (Beginning)
Fifth	Free	Free
Sixth	English I	Maths
Seventh	Biology	Social Studies

In addition, one of the Hispanic teachers in the mainstream program teaches courses to groups of Hispanics in the Bilingual program, including Spanish, Geometry, English, and Algebra. The Geometry, Algebra, and Spanish classes are open to all students in the school. The English class is designed for recent arrivals who need extra help in English.

Those students who have shown good progress in English and who have an interest in taking advanced courses that are only taught in the mainstream program are encouraged by the bilingual classroom teachers to do so. Classes that these students choose include American History, Earth Biology, Marine Biology, Chemistry, and Calculus.

Hence, the students' individual curriculum varies according to students

abilities and interests. For example:

Student A: A recent arrival from Puerto Rico who has shown an advanced ability in maths and science, compared to other students in the bilingual program. Arrangements were made to have this student taken an individualized calculus course with the Hispanic maths teacher, who teaches in the mainstream program. This student also takes the chemistry class which is only taught in English. Even so this student's English language is poor. Nonetheless he has been able to function well in class with support from other Hispanic students in the class with translation and interpretation. With the exception of English the rest of the courses taken by this student are part of the bilingual program and are taught in Spanish.

Student B: has been in the bilingual program since 6th Grade. His level of English has improved and he has also started taking courses in the mainstream program. His class schedule is as follows:

3 bilingual courses	ESL II; Reading & Writing in Spanish; Latin American Studies.
4 mainstream courses	Maths; Science; Gym; Typing.

Student C: has been in the school for 3 years and is presently studying at 11th and 12th Grade levels. He is taking college required courses since he will be applying for admission.

2 bilingual courses	Geometry; Beginning Algebra.
3 mainstream courses	Chemistry; College English; U.S. History; Work Study.

Student D: is in the 10th Grade, and this is her 2nd year at South Boston High. The only course that she takes in the mainstream program are Woodworking and Gym or Phys. Ed.

5 bilingual courses	Bilingual Reading & Writing; ESL; Spanish Literature; Maths; Biology.

2 mainstream courses	Woodworking; Gym.

Student E: she is in the 9th Grade, and this is her 1st year at South Boston High School. Her class schedule is:

4 bilingual courses	Spanish; ESL; Basic Maths; Biology.
3 mainstream courses	Phys. Ed; Typing; Exploratory Careers.

All students have to take physical education. There are no Hispanic physical education teachers and this class is offered in English. It is a class in which Hispanic students spend time together with students of other ethnic groups.

The sports in which Hispanic students have shown interest are baseball, basketball, and tennis. Sports facilities are at the Day Boulevard Sports Field which is walking distance from the school and across from the beach. According to the bilingual teachers there is police protection whenever the integrated group of students are taken to this field to practice sports.

Textbooks in Spanish and English for bilingual classes are selected by the teachers of the program and ordered through the school office. Students are able to take most of these textbooks home with them to study and do homework. The library on the second floor above the bilingual classrooms has a few books in Spanish and a Spanish encyclopedia.

Special Projects Within the Bilingual Curriculum

The bilingual classroom teachers obtained a state grant to provide funds to coordinate educational and recreational activities in and outside the school for Hispanic and other students in the school.

The activities of this project include field trips to places which could deal with culture, activities which could bring the different cultural groups of the school together. Examples are the design of a "pinata" and a school newspaper.

The school newspaper is called La Galaxia (The Galaxy) and it has brought a group of white, black, and Hispanic students together to put out the first school newspaper in years. Some sections of the newspaper are written in Spanish, some in English. The articles in the first issue of the newspaper dealt with the student's mixed feelings towards the school and its environment, different programs and activities within the school, poetry, news and sports.

A present activity of the newspaper is a composition writing contest for all the students in the school. The editors of the newspaper have been receiving a large number of compositions. The judges for this contest will be bilingual and mainstream students and faculty.

As a result of this project, the bilingual classroom teachers are designing a bilingual Journalism class for the next academic year. Presently, there is a Journalism course offered in the mainstream program, but participants must have advanced writing skills to qualify.

The bilingual program of South Boston High also participated in "The American Experience Multicultural Program", a special program sponsored by Education Collaborative (EDCO). The objective of this program which is a week long, is to bring students together in different activities outside the school. Students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds participate. This program is organized approximately four times a year and each time, EDCO selects a bilingual program from a different school using a different theme. The bilingual program of South Boston High participated with students from suburban schools who are learning Spanish. The theme was media and art and included visits to museums, theatre arts workshops, visit to an art studio, and others.

SUMMARY COMMENT

Although the schools we visited are reflective of the situation of bilingual schooling in Boston, they cannot be considered "typical". Bilingual education programs tend to vary depending on the length

of time it has been in the school, size of the program, attitude of the administration towards bilingual education, experience of the bilingual teachers, degree of integration with the mainstream program, and specific population in question.

Length of time is a powerful variable. Because of the fact that the concept of bilingual education is not necessarily accepted in the school systems, programs need the time to prove their worth, to gain support from the administration and other staff. Bilingual staff need the time and experience to build credibility, to be more assertive of their beliefs and needs, and to establish ties with the rest of the school. These ties, in turn, allow for planning of projects that makes integration of Spanish-dominant and English-dominant children possible.

The particular linguistic group included in this study was Spanish. Boston has bilingual programs for many other linguistic groups. Because of size, degree of immigration, proximity to native land, and other variables, their programs may be quite different from those offered for the Hispanic children.

SECTION FOUR - CONCLUSIONS, REFLECTIONS, IMPLICATIONS

BARRY MACDONALD
CLEM ADELMAN
SAVILLE KUSHNER
ROB WALKER

INTRODUCTION

We know now what a bilingual school looks like. We've been inside, had a good look at what goes on, talked with the people there about what they are doing, where they're heading, where they came from. We understand something of the history of this school, how it evolved and changed from a self-help enterprise to the showcase of a system response to linguistic disadvantage. Around the Rafael Hernandez, still Boston's only bilingual school for Hispanics, the main burden of provision is discharged through bilingual programmes housed in desegregated schools struggling to cope with changing clienteles and complex regulations. Our Boston University colleagues have, in Section Three, provided an account of this programme provision in District Six, the school district where Judge Garrity initiated the forced desegregation of the Boston school system. Their account reminds us of the bilingual norm-limited programmes contending with a transitory population.

The inclusion in this account of South Boston High should remind us too of the unnatural social realities of schooling that have resulted from administrative engineering. When, in 1975, Garrity ordered the integration of white South Boston High and black Roxbury High the Hispanic reaction was one of horrified recoil at the prospect of their children being bused into the heart of the Irish community. That is now a reality, as is the fact that these children require a security escort every time they step foot outside the school. The schooling of Boston's minorities proceeds behind locked doors.

Most of the Hispanic adolescents who are escorted to South Boston High each day live in Dorchester, the neighbourhood in which the Rafael Hernandez is located and from which, despite its city-wide catchment, most of its pupils come. The doors of the Hernandez are locked too, though vandals and thieves, rather than a hostile community, make this precaution advisable. In most other respects there is a marked contrast between this little school and the other schools where bilingual programmes are

provided. In the Hernandez we see the results of a sustained effort to create a culturally responsive institution, a custom-built school for Boston's most mobile minority.

One result is undeniable - such a school is much more more successful at holding on to its clients long enough to give them a sustained experience of continuous schooling. There is an irony in this. The Massachusetts Bilingual Law limits provision to three years before mainstreaming. It embodies a concern, not just to underline the transition goal, but to guard against territorial aggrandisement. But the problem that launched the bilingual movement in Massachusetts, the problem of so many Hispanic children not attending school of any kind, was never just a problem of responsive provision, a problem that schools alone could solve. The Hernandez shows that attractive and committed schools can weigh more heavily in the balance of economic and cultural options of migrant communities, but for most of the bilingual programme teachers there is little chance of their clients outstaying the legal welcome.

In the introduction to this report we pointed out that the merits of bilingual schooling have so far been judged on the basis of student achievement tests applied to children in the kind of bilingual programme described in Section Three. The most influential evaluation, the AIR Report commissioned by the federal government to minotor the effectiveness of Title VII grants, concluded that such programmes were ineffective in terms of transitional criteria. It was the premature, unfair, and unhelpful nature of such evaluations that prompted our own study, one that we hoped would provide a more reasonable basis for determining future directions for bilingual schooling. In this concluding section we want to review the case, pick out some issues of importance for the different communities engaged in bilingual schooling, and elaborate some options for those now contemplating the next step. We have in mind three separate, but overlapping audiences, the research community, the development and support community, and the political community. We shall deal with each of these in turn before closing with a brief comment on the implications of the study for bilingual education in our own country.

1. LANGUAGE, PEDAGOGY AND BILINGUAL SCHOOLING

CLEM ADELMAN

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s in the U.S.A. the growth of social consciousness and self-consciousness about language and particularly about its relation to cultural identity and equality was accompanied by a growing body of legislation and legal judgements. These legal changes have become critical reference points for those inquiring into educational provision for school-children whose first language is not English, for in making the legislation and coming to legal judgements, researchers and academics have been called as expert witnesses to put their views and, to a greater or lesser extent, to influence the outcomes of proceedings. We move, now, to look critically at the body of knowledge which research offers to policy development.

Teaching for literacy

For pupils who are monolingual or dominant in a language other than English, lessons conducted only in English are, to some degree, difficult to understand. Children with a gift for acquiring a second language in the context of classroom instruction are not much impeded in their academic attainment, and they soon 'catch up' with those whose first or dominant language is English. But the majority, that is the 'average' and 'below-average' children whose first or dominant language is not English, don't find learning lessons in English at all easy and they don't achieve as much as they might in schools. These children are not deficient in language *per se*, indeed they may well be proficient in a different language. If they were to be tested in their first language for oracy and literacy, then there is a high likelihood that their score will predict their level of proficiency in Maths taught in their first language and other areas of the school curriculum (though such claims are only valid within the validity criteria embodied in the tests). But in general the practice has been to test children in the dominant language of the country - English in the U.S.A.

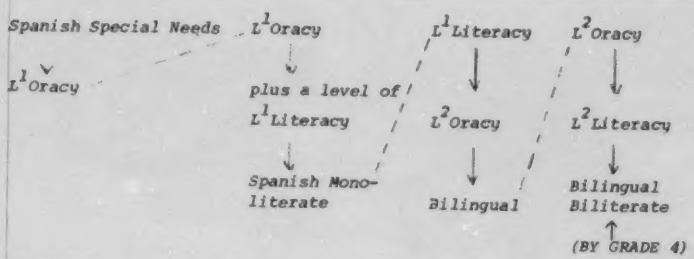
The proportion of the day devoted to instruction in English and English as a Second Language in the Hernandez school, varies with the age of the child, their scholastic achievement and the extent of dominance in their first language. The children are grouped together in accordance with their diagnosed learning needs and their proficiency in their dominant language. Such provision leads, in this particular school, to individualised

schedules and to the grouping of children by criteria that are novel to the conventional organisation of schools (such as levelling). Such groupings go against the 'conventions' of elementary schools in the U.S. where, as in Britain, children usually stay with one class/teacher throughout the school day and then progress to another teacher at the end of each year. This implies that for at least a year at a time, children are inducted into the significances that their grade teacher attributes to the material culture and to the forms of conduct of social relationships through pedagogy. Teachers who are inflexibly monocultural, who either are unaware or deliberately resist learning about other cultures, may have difficulties in communicating their meaning referents to students of other cultures than their own. Correspondingly, resistance by students to schooling and to the cultural practice of teachers in general has been shown (in the research literature) to commence as early as age four.

In the Hernandez School, individual scheduling of children into lessons that (1) had been designed to meet the level of achievement, and (2) that are conducted in either the child's first or second language, supports the main aim of the school which is to educate all children to a level of English literacy in order that they may continue schooling later, without disadvantage, in the mainstream system. As the children were individually schedules to move from one teacher to another, each child's total schedule may be different from each other child's of the same age. This means that each child is inducted into parts of the culture of the school at different stages. The dominant culture at the end of schooling, given the transitional aim of English literacy, is at least partly defined, therefore, by the 4th and 5th Grade teachers and their curricula. English monolingual children, particularly those who have no special needs, immediately enter the 'mainstream' route (usually taking Title 1 classes) and although a few English-dominant children in this school are introduced into Spanish literacy, this is unusual. (Spanish as a second language for English-dominant children is not a requirement of transitional bilingual legislation in Massachusetts.) There are very few children who are equally proficient in two languages and literacies. These few are Hispanic and are frequently from families where the spouses are Spanish and English-speaking respectively.

The emphasis on Spanish literacy for the Spanish-dominant children diminishes as they progress through the school. The model for progressing to second language literacy adopted by the Hernandez School and those schools in the complementary studies can be summed up diagrammatically as follows:

STAGES IN THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME FOR A SPANISH MONOLINGUAL STUDENT TO BECOME A SPANISH/ENGLISH BILITERATE



L^1 *Dominant or Only Language (in this case Spanish)*

L^2 *Second Language (in this case English)*

DIAGRAM EXPLANATION:

The curriculum involves the education of children to a level of competence of oracy in their first language alongside an introduction to literacy in their first language. Spanish monolingual children and the very dominant-Spanish speaking children are introduced to Spanish literacy. They do not have lessons in English literacy in the first Grade. The Spanish-dominant and Spanish bilingual children go to the next stage (which is literacy in the second language) alongside oracy in the second language. The second language for Spanish children is, of course, English. This last stage for Spanish monolingual or Spanish-dominant children is the first stage for English children within the Reading and Literacy curriculum. So the Spanish speaking children, are introduced into reading in the 1st Grade in Spanish and then gradually toward literacy in Spanish. When they acquire adequate literacy in Spanish, they are introduced into oracy in English, and then when they have achieved adequate oracy in English, they are then introduced into literacy in English.

To recapitulate this somewhat complex process, the curriculum of the school is orientated towards English literacy whilst incorporating (sometimes bilingually) elements of a curriculum conducted in Spanish. Only in the 4th and 5th Grades does the transitional formal curriculum of the school become emphasised.

Language and Social Integration

Many of the problems of bilingual schooling that have been identified by researchers, particularly of language use and curriculum provision, are found in schools which are apparently marked more by social conflict than by social integration. Our experience at the Hernandez was of a quite different context.

Code-switching (Blom and Gumpertz (1972), a functional language manifestation of exclusion or inclusion in social situations such as school classrooms, did not appear in our observations of the Hernandez School where social integration between students and teachers, whatever their ethnic backgrounds, was high. In the classroom, during lessons in this school neither the white nor the Hispanic teachers code-switched to express affiliation with students, or to exclude students. Nor was there any stigmatisation of phonological interference - a phenomenon that has often been commented on by socio-linguists studying the acquisition of a second language. Such stigmatisation can affect school learning, particularly the development of literacy (Goodman, Goodman and Flores (1979)). In the Hernandez School any phonological interference was considered to be of maturational rather than educational significance - 'borrowing' and 'non-standard' English were not stigmatised. Where symptoms persisted, the aetiology was diagnosed by the bilingual speech pathologist and appropriate treatment arranged.

Our experience at the Hernandez School suggests to us that where social integration is high, where social relationships between teachers and students, and students and students, are ones of mutual respect and even affection, and where parental support for the school is high, then what have been taken as prominent areas and issues for research into bilingual education are diminished in importance. Much of the research has been conducted in school systems that are marked by exclusion of both pupils and their parents from the negotiation of curriculum and the general conduct of schooling.

The form of language switching between teacher and student which occurred in the classrooms of the Hernandez School, was one that served the purposes of pedagogy. This was the form of translation from one language to another, and could be termed "instructional bilingualism". The occurrence of such translation within these classrooms was related to the composition in terms of language proficiency and language dominance of the class being taught. This was dependent on teachers' knowledge of the children's abilities. The teachers suggest that such translation often involves simplification of vocabulary in order to explain concepts from another language in terms that are comprehensible to the students. Code switching between teacher and student in the sense defined by Blom and Gumperz (1972), has already been mentioned as notably absent during lessons.

Across the classrooms, during the recesses in the staffroom and with parents, a range of language switching with different cultural specificity was observed in the case study schools. This ranged from non-switching (that is monolingual) through instructional bilingualism to a bilingualism that is more culturally responsive. This variety of usage was observed across classrooms of the schools whereas, as we have mentioned, code switching was only observed between the staff of the school and between the students of the school outside classroom settings.

It is salutary to note that even those professionals, like anthropologists and modern linguists, who study cultures and languages extensively and in depth do not necessarily come to respect or find affection for the other culture. Learning and speaking of the language of the culture does not confer cultural competence, nor does it mean that the values and beliefs of that culture become acquired and used. The more obvious signs of cultural identity such as dress and culinary preferences do not necessarily indicate that the person who has these preferences holds a distinctive set of values and beliefs that are in accord with the dress and culinary preferences of the culture displayed. Indeed, as Turnbull (1961) and Malinowski (1967) have made clear, affection for a people does not necessarily follow on knowledge of their culture. The implication here is that no amount of knowledge or training will make a teacher respect or like the students he or she comes to teach. Another implication is that there can be no technicist (for instance 'teacher proof') forms of bilingual curriculum or programme. Curriculum materials

are inevitably interpreted and used in quite different ways by different teachers. Without understanding the relationship between social interaction processes within classroom and school, and the nature of the curriculum and its organisation, the consequences of legislation or administrative decisions on schools and school systems can neither be predicted nor even monitored. Yet the dominant research which has informed decision-makers concerned with language policy in education, has been of a type that measures student achievement. These tests are often culturally and socially biased. Undisclosed assumptions about a deficit model of language use (Baratz and Baratz (1970)), and about curriculum organisation and pedagogy as rather inflexible entities are characteristic of this research. The work of Lambert (1972) and particularly of Swain (1979) and Cummins (1979) exemplifies this deficit approach, which has a spurious objectivity that appeals to those who decide the distribution and withdrawal of resources in schools.

A technical vocabulary has been developed in conjunction with this quasi-experimental research into the achievement of bilingual programmes. When students, dominant in one language, are grouped together and introduced to a second language with which they have no prior contact, the arrangement has been termed immersion. When those dominant in one language are introduced to the second language directly within a classroom comprising mainly of speakers of that second language (for instance Spanish speakers in a class of English speakers) this is called submersion. This distinction is clearly an aspect of scheduling and grouping of students within the curriculum organisation of the school, rather than a necessary feature of bilingual schooling.

The dimension additive/subtractive (Lambert 1977) reveals neither the process of social interaction which is conducive to one or other end of the dimension, nor the deficit model of language development upon which the dimension is premised. Additive learning of a second language is defined as fostering pride and 'affiliation' to the first language community, whereas subtractive learning detracts from the pride and prestige of the first language and creates a sense of 'isolation'. Lambert, Swain and Cummins do not illustrate that they have gone beyond paper and pencil tests in this research which they claim is indicative of the 'affiliation' or 'isolation' from the community of the first

language. However, Swain (1979) is critical of quasi-experimental studies, not on the basis of their assumptions, but on their inadequate designs and methods of analysis. Thus Swain is critical of the A.I.R. (Danoff et al 1978) study on several grounds, including the aggregation of statistics from schools that are unlike each other. Much of this research has been powered by the exploration of a criticism of bilingual schooling, that achievement of students in bilingual programmes or schools is lower than it would have been had they been in monolingual programmes or schools - an assessment reliant upon tests which are almost certainly defective in terms we have already mentioned.

Research in the early 1970s in Sweden suggested that there was some 'dissonance' in student's cognition during the acquisition of a second language, and this was an inherent barrier to general achievement in schools. Skutnabb-Kangas (1976) coined the term "semilingualism" to describe pupil's language which seemed to lack proficiency in either first or second language. Later research using similar criteria in French Canada argues to the contrary that acquisition of a second language enhances school learning in general, as compared to a matched group of monolingual students.

However, these quasi experimental designs which pursue a correlational, reductionist approach to enquiries into bilingual schooling shift attention from the educational and social context of schooling to a concern with various methodologies and analysis. The validity and inherent assumptions of this sort of research - the inherent deficit model of language use, the cultural bias of the tests of cognition and learning, the absence of any indication of how these dimensions relate to social processes within the school or classroom, are uninspected and require careful appraisal before being used as informational sources by policy makers.

2. CURRICULUM REUNIFICATION, CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

ROB WALKER
SAVILLE KUSHNER

In this chapter we comment on the needs and resources for the development of bilingual curriculum. Our efforts concentrate on the experience of the Rafael Hernandez School but first we need a definition of 'curriculum'.

The staff of the Hernandez School spoke of curriculum in much the same terms as we are accustomed to talking of as syllabus. The 'reading curriculum' like the 'social studies curriculum' was depicted as a series of events through which each student had to pass in order to reach particular levels of achievement. The content defined the experience, and was for the most part unquestioned. To write a new reading curriculum (as were Wendy and Hilary) initially involved examining lists of educational aims and objectives. Curriculum development was seen as a periodic renewal, punctuating a stable and preordained sequence. Of course experimentation existed in between whiles - as we mention later - but was limited to individual classrooms and was bounded by the overriding sequence of the whole curriculum. This in turn was locked into the textbooks and materials in use in the school.

Lawrence Stenhouse (1980) offers an alternative perspective on curriculum which has a cultural 'feel' to it. It is worth quoting at length:

> *What is a curriculum as we now understand the word? It has changed its meaning as a result of the curriculum movement. It is not a syllabus - a mere list of content to be covered - nor is it even what German speakers would call a Lehrplan - a prescription of aims and methods and content. Nor is it in our understanding a list of objectives.*
>
> *Let me claim that it is a symbolic or meaningful object, like Shakespeare's first folio, not like a lawnmower; like the pieces and board of chess, not like an apple tree. It has a physical existence but also a meaning incarnate in words or pictures or sound or games or whatever.*
>
> *In our imagination let us bring it into this room. The doors open and it enters on a porter's barrow, since it is too heavy to carry. Two large boxes are full of books for pupils to use in the classroom. A third contains educational games and simulations and a fourth, posters, slides, film strips and overhead projector transparencies. The big box over there is the film set - or is this the video-tape version - and the smaller one beside it contains audio-tape and gramophone*

records. The seventh, and in this case the last, box holds the teachers' books and materials.

Who made it? Well, perhaps a curriculum research and development group funded by Nuffield or the Schools Council or the American National Science Foundation or Stiftung Volkswagenwerk. Or perhaps a group of teachers from various parts of the country working under an editor for a publisher. Or perhaps a teachers' centre group. Or a school - Abraham Moss or Stantonbury or some less fabled place.

So there it stands, a palpable educational artefact. But what use is it to a student or a teacher? Often apparently, not much. Like some wedding presents it is in a month or two more likely to be found in the attic than in the living room. But that analogy is not quite right. A better one is the affluent outhouse containing the unused golf-clubs, canoe, sailing dinghy, skis, ice skates and glider. All the possessions which implied not simply ownership but learning, the development of new skills, on the part of the owner. Mr.Toad's curriculum of derelict skiffs and canary-coloured caravan. Material objects cast aside because the teacher was not prepared to face the role of learner they faced upon him.

"No curriculum development without teacher development", reads one of the poker-work mottoes we hung on our wall during the Humanities Project and haven't taken down. But that does not mean, as it often seems to be interpreted to mean, that we must train teachers in order to produce a world fit for curricula to live in. It means that by virtue of their meaningfulness curricula are not simply instructional means to improve teaching but are expressions of ideas to improve teachers. Of course, they have a day-to-day instructional utility: cathedrals must keep the rain out. But the students' benefit from curricula not so much because they change day-to-day instruction as because they improve teachers."

In this view the package,or the text,is still artefactual, tangible. What changes is the nature of the relationship between teachers and curriculum. Here curriculum is seen not as extraneous but as a living thing embodying critical processes: the teacher is the practitioner of curriculum, not simply the agent of delivery. Aspects of curriculum including sequencing, teaching style, assessment, previously depicted as static frame factors, become variable with the experience of managing them. The classroom, in this view, is seen less as the unit of cultural reproduction, and more as the laboratory for change.

We can move a stage further. We can consider the 'symbolism' and the

'meaning' of curriculum to reside in the perception of students as well as of their teachers. Curriculum becomes broadened yet further. We can exemplify this by looking specifically at the Hernandez School.

The outside doors of the school are locked and secure. Students are escorted through them and onto the school bus - or out to chaperoned recreation in the playground. On one occasion, let us imagine a group of students filing in from play. The doors are locked behind them and they move into a social studies lesson where the topic is the American constitution: democracy, liberty. The students may consciously or unconsciously make associations between the rhetoric of democratic freedom and the reality of the locked and guarded doors. Having made such an association the student will have learned something (the world will have changed ineffably). The locked door - or more generally the whole environment - has been part of the curriculum for that day, and if that is true for the school doors then it will be true for the way teachers of varying ethnicity relate to each other- frequently under the observation of students; of the architecture of the building; of the experience of school picnics.

In part all this relates to what we have come to know as the "hidden curriculum", a somewhat imprecise but evocative term which attempts to capture the fact that students never only learn one thing at a time, that the whole curriculum is never fully under the control of either the teacher or the school, and the context in which curriculum messages are transmitted may override its content. While the hidden curriculum is a useful notion, and one we have used extensively by implication in this study, there are some problems associated with the use of the concept. To what extent does what is "hidden" remain beyond the consciousness of those involved? And if it can be comprehended and articulated - revealed - can it be modified? Can we 'develop' the hidden curriculum?

Bernstein (1970) seems to take a strong position. In his critique of the notion of compensatory education, he makes the often quoted remark that: "If the culture of the teacher is to become part of the consciousness of the child, the culture of the child must first be in the consciousness of the teacher." Such a claim requires that teachers reveal the subtleties of learning processes and cultural meanings. This is clearly

a task that is difficult, and ultimately perhaps impossible, for it requires teachers to grasp the significance of any material or phenomena that are available for students as substrates for learning. Nevertheless, this is the kind of effort required by the view of curriculum we propose, one consequence of which is that the whole curriculum has, first, to enter the consciousness of the teacher, before it can become part of the culture of the child.

We have presented this alternative view of curriculum - one that underlays much of what we say in this concluding piece but it does not account for the view the Hernandez staff hold of curriculum. They strike a clear division between teaching and learning within purposeful, pedagogical interactions (usually in class), and activities shared with their students at other times (and at other places). We will acknowledge that division by calling the former the 'formal' curriculum and the latter the 'informal' curriculum (which in effect embraces the 'hidden' element). When Wendy tells us we are looking for evidence of cultural responsiveness in the wrong place, when we listen to the 'teachers words' and look at what is 'written on the blackboard', she is, as we interpret it, telling us to look at the 'informal' curriculum. It is important to remember, however, that we see both elements - formal and informal - as integral to the operation of the Hernandez programme. Only the two together can be regarded as the Curriculum of the Hernandez School - and that is essentially because students do not necessarily recognise the division.

Using this interpretation of curriculum we will now move on to look at interactions between curriculum development and policy.

Strategies for curriculum change

Among curriculum theorists and planners, current wisdom is that the large scale, centralised development projects which characterised the 1960s and early 1970s, are better replaced by smaller scale, local initiatives carried out with some central support. Large scale national developments, it is often argued, are too difficult to implement, become diluted and softened in the successive negotiations that are needed to implant them in classrooms, and are too readily prone to

asset-stripping by academic "experts" who may have little understanding of classroom realities. Thus Atkin and House (1981) have recently advocated: "modest initiatives illuminated by evolutionary imagery", seeing these as "more effective in a large and complex system than strategies that are directly interventionist".

While Atkin and House present an alternative model for curriculum development, the present study provides an informative case study of how such a model might be realised in practice: the Rafael Hernandez School developed from a local initiative taken by the Hispanic community in Boston, when they established their own school in Dennison House. On the one hand, in drawing this community initiative into the Public School system (as a magnet school), the Boston School Committee has provided the kind of support that Atkin and House argue is the best strategy that central institutions can take if they are to stimulate curriculum change. At the same time we can see in the school case study the effects of bureaucratically imposed curriculum change through the Special Programmes.

The result of this conflation is that while much about the school has changed, the classroom curriculum tends, for the most part, to be static, conservative, English and reading dominated, and most frequently transmitted via an instructional didactic pedagogy. Yet while they dominate the scene, these characteristics live side-by-side with more experimental and innovative activities. We will look more closely at this juxtaposition.

The school was established in response to the immediate needs of a newly arrived, poor, Spanish-speaking minority community, but its development has been marked by its progress as a colony of the Boston School system rather than in relation to its constituency. The School and the Hispanic Community has had to cede control over much of the formal curriculum in the face of the transition mandate. The first threat to the school's autonomy, however, came from the same desegregation movement that had originally given hope of change, for in order to maintain its existence in the face of the desegregation threat it had to accept magnet status, this being the only way of moderating the requirements of "racial balance". Even so, the school was forced to look beyond its immediate community for student recruits.

The second challenge to its autonomy came when, having achieved formal recognition, and having won tenured Principal-status for its teacher-in-charge, the school found it could no longer retain its leading teacher who now lacked the credentials for the job. Maria Kline arrived in the school as the Principal representing, in the eyes of many, the middle class professionals in the downtown office; every inch a competent professional, but also the harbinger of change. Maria brought skills which were to be essential to the continued survival of the Hernandez programme in the face of the rigorous demands of the public school system.

What we see in the case study is a school that has had to respond to changing conditions by emphasising curriculum management rather than curriculum change. But there remains a tension between the two. The major innovation that the school points to with pride is the levelling system, a system that allows the incorporation of a range of special programmes - Title 1, the Resource Rooms and Special Education, within a bilingual curriculum. Levelling individualises the route taken through the formal curriculum, while the curriculum itself tends to remain intact. Problems come to be interpreted as problems of individual performance against set standards rather than as feedback data on the impact of the curriculum. And always the special programmes sit clumsily astride the mainstream curriculum, ever hungry for time and imposing a demanding set of, mainly behaviourist, learning assumptions derived from the requirements of Title 1 and Chapter 766 programmes. Management learns and adapts - curriculum becomes fossilised.

Here the analysis provided by Atkin and House is accurate. Federal and State programmes like Title 1 and Chapter 766 require the school to act in response to problem definitions that are over-simplified in the arenas of political discourse. Common solutions cannot easily account for local variation, but local contexts do create spaces and gaps within which initiative can thrive, so adapting the programme to local circumstance. The school's highly idiosyncratic but selective exploitation of 'pairing' arrangements is a good example, as is the variety of ways in which aides participate in classrooms.

A tension develops as those in schools strive to adapt central initiatives

while those in central positions (perhaps seeing such practices as their ultimate target for change) find themselves tightening their grip, building-in evaluation requirements, more detailed specifications and forms of accountability. This tends to encourage the development of a formal curriculum that becomes honed down to what can be delivered, and to what can be assessed, which in turn tends to focus on narrow conceptions of learning, frequently defined in terms of gains on achievement test scores. The result is a system in which teachers and students are rewarded for performance, not for compliance; for achievement, but not for wisdom or understand; and in which experience is devalued in favour of 'headway'. In the Hernandez School, transition requirements and special programmes domineer - though the school shifts its efforts to areas where Federal and State accountants cannot reach.

We are left with a paradox. Central initiatives taken with the best intentions, and often motivated by liberal values, become frustrated by the difficulties of implementation in massive and diffuse systems like education. In order to maintain the priority of their intent central agencies respond by tightening control, an action which triggers consequences that may well conflict with those liberal values that first gave them impetus. The difficulties the Hernandez School's Special Education team encounter in having to account for their operation is a case in point.

The scenario for policy options is looking complex. If we want to introduce change to schools from the outside and maintain standardisation of both treatment and outcome as a central criterion, then we run the risk of loss of teacher autonomy. This tends to devalue the experience of the teaching force and may - as in the case of the Hernandez - force educational practice back onto conservative coping strategies. The consequence is that central authorities gain a greater capacity to predict what happens in the classroom. Alternatively, if we seek to retain autonomy at the periphery of systems then we have to accept that the innovations that may emerge are likely to be idiosyncratic, contingent upon local contexts and beyond the immediate apprehension of central authority.

A good example of the first option can be seen in the Boston School Com-

mittee's proposed Lau Implementation Plan - not yet adopted at the time we left Boston. The Plan was, again, a case of attempting to inject liberal values into a system dominated by conservative practice through the careful use of legal instruments.

The main body of the Lau Implementation Plan bases provision upon a mastery learning programme comprising a sequence of language achievement levels through which minority language speakers have to pass before they gain access to the mainstream curriculum. The resource and support implications of taking students to the levels define the character and extent of bilingual programmes to be supplied by the School Committee. While creating legal space for (transitional) bilingual programmes to evolve, such requirements, paradoxically, and by the necessity of their own logic, deny access to the mainstream for any but competent English speakers - once again introducing a tendency for curriculum fossilization. A substantial part of the report, furthermore, proposes a comprehensive bureaucratic infrastructure to implement and develop these programmes. In their urgency to protect the programmes the authors of the report demonstrate a greater confidence in the gate-keepers than in the practitioners. The "job goal" of the proposed "Senior Curriculum Advisor: Bilingual Education" is typical, and includes:

- Develop with (other officers) integrated curriculum standards that respond to specific bilingual programmatic needs and which maintain grade-level consistency.
- Initiate, modify, adjust, revise and terminate all efforts to develop bilingual curricula in collaboration with (other officers).

Boston Public Schools (1979), p.66

The advisor is to be further asked to review and evaluate, to prepare packages, to resource in-service courses and to feed research findings into innovation plans. It typifies the approach of top-down management, assuming that innovation can best be effected by reducing the autonomy of teachers and increasing the influence of experts placed in positions of bureaucratic power. There is no recognition that 'the system' can learn from the variegations of practice - that Advisors can transmit messages 'up' the hierarchy - that overviews may also atrophy for lack of innovation.

What we can also see in the Lau proposals is evidence of the third stage

of the response by government to control voluntary social movements outlined by MacDonald in the first section to this report. To recap, MacDonald saw three such stages - investment, containment and finally co-optation. Co-optation is characterised by "an extension of the policy-making and administrative franchise to those individuals and groups demanding recognition and participation." Opening up the 'fold' carries dangers, of course, but, MacDonald goes on:

> "These are minimised ... by the bonding effect of an increasingly shared perception of the problems of delivering effective services."

The Lau proposals are a clear manifestation of a problem defined in bureaucratic terms consonant with an establishment, dominant-culture view. The Hernandez School - under pressure to demonstrate its performance at the forefront of bilingual development - saw itself in compliance with the Lau proposals before they were published and anticipated no change in their operation were the Plan to be adopted. One teacher went further:

> "Perhaps we're different because we try to do a little more than just what the policy-makers require."

The other policy option, of attempting to build on the autonomy inherent in school and classroom practice rather than to remove it, is the key to Atkin and House's vision of "modest initiatives illuminated by evolutionary imagery". In the light of the present study, however, their model would seem to fall foul of the fact that such strategies become caught up in processes of political control and organisational self-maintenance. The model takes good account of the failures of central initiatives to sustain innovation at the periphery, but fails to allow for its own vulnerability as yet another variant of the centre-periphery model. It seeks to capitalise on the innovative energy that can be generated in local circumstances, but seems to fail to realise that the autonomy such energy requires to develop productively cannot easily be granted by the centre. We have seen in the Hernandez School that the biography of the school staff (in one sense, the aggregate of all the individual biographies but, as importantly, the circumstances which brought them all together in this time and place) is a critical variable. Autonomy does not encourage spontaneous experiment. It is the mix between autonomy and proaction. Freedom cannot be <u>given</u> to peripheral agencies: it can only be taken (and taken away).

Teacher Autonomy, or a Learning Community

We have noted the tension between management and curriculum - partly, at least, attributable to the juxtaposition of bureaucratic intervention and local autonomy. We have suggested that this tension tends to resolve in favour of management, emphasising the need to survive above the urge to learn and to develop. But what happens to curriculum initiatives in such a milieu?

The staff of the Hernandez have ceded control over much of the curriculum - though that cession is largely and distinctively confined to the classroom - to what we call the 'formal curriculum'. Outside the classroom - at the picnic, on school visits, at parties - lies a more 'informal' curriculum where the staff have been able to experiment with more innovative pedagogies, built upon relationships which allow teachers and students to compete and the teachers to lose; which allow for the hegemony of the students' minority culture over the teachers'. This takes place in those few havens within the school as yet uncolonised by the transition mandate. Here is curriculum development in retreat across the boundaries of the classroom. Inside the classroom we tend to see pedagogies appropriate to transition; outside, we tend to see pedagogies more appropriate to cultural maintenance. The more complex view we proposed earlier exposes a need to integrate the two - to reunite Language Arts and School Picnics. In the end it is the student who is currently left to make sense of the fragments - to integrate what professionals outside school have disintegrated and what professionals inside school are prevented from fully grasping.

There are alternatives being tried in the classrooms nonetheless. We saw Susan's combined ESL/SSL class - an experiment in bilingual pedagogy whose potential the whole school was prevented from exploring because of the "huge scheduling problem" it would create. Sheila talked of a purposeful (though again not fully articulated) model for bilingual teaching but, once more, her experience has been confined to her own classroom. A more generalised innovation within the school is the highly developed participation of teaching aides which, in the degrees of responsibility sought and permitted and in the strength and nature of their relationships with teachers is immensely productive - whilst contravening many of the more recent regulations for the deployment of aides. Then there is the close relationship between the school and the

Aquarium which brings into the school a discovery-learning/approach to science. This only succeeds because the Aquarium team were able to establish an identity and an expertise which did not compete with the teachers' sense of boundary in relation to their own area of professional competence. Indeed, the Aquarium approach to teaching and learning was typical of the Kindergarten, which both Janice and Hilary as well as the teachers in the school saw as distinct from the curriculum through the grades. However, the Kindergarten curriculum, in spite of its range and freedom of expression for both teacher and student, will soon submit to the disciplinary jacket of the District-wide reading curriculum.

It is these few sparks that would need to be nurtured and fanned to ignite the process of localised curriculum development but, in our view, an important constraint prevents spontaneous curriculum development. For, in order to retain control of the whole curriculum, the school would need the support to corporately learn from its own experience. It would need the space to become more self-reflective, and to institute mechanisms for accumulating institutional learning. Teachers would need to be legitimated as their own researchers - rediscovering the 'whole' curriculum. At present the school's experience is fragmented, individualised and privatised. In terms of what it knows and understands about its own curriculum, the sum of individual experience and personal wisdom vastly exceeds what the school as a whole can claim to know and to use.

It is easy to see why this should be so, for the school is staffed by teachers who have drawn on their own backgrounds and experience to sustain their professional autonomy as the school has progressively come under the control of the school system. A major consequence for the school has been that each classroom strives to develop its own distinctive and self-sufficient learning economy. Another consequence of staffing the school with experienced and committed teachers has been to reduce their dependence of each other, and so to reduce the power of the faculty as a learning (as opposed to a teaching) community.

This is a point that has significant implications for teacher education, for predominantly we train teachers to survive in the system as individuals, yet the major problems they will face will be the problems

of organisations and collectivities. In one sense the case study may be read as the consequences of an individualised approach to teacher education come home to roost. While the staff of the Hernandez School are competent experienced professionals they have few ways of sharing their experience. It is difficult for them to act co-operatively in curriculum planning, and when drawn out of the school they tend to act as advocates, either through allegiance with the community (Wendy's involvement in drafting the Lau Compliance Plan, for example), or out of a sense of loyalty to the school. The main exception is in teacher-aide co-operation, and it is a significant exception, but one contained by the "economy" of individual classrooms. The school even has difficulty in mounting its own internal in-service training meetings. Precious time available for staff meetings tends to be gobbled up by scheduling arrangements and by the need to consider closely each individual child's progress. Perhaps, the very prominence and visibility of the school tends to push those teachers who put their heads outside the classroom door towards defensiveness or towards advocacy. As a general rule, lighthouse schools do not encourage internal reflection.

Several people have asked us why we made so much, in the case study, of teacher biographies, and so little of bilingual education models. Perhaps now the reason is clear, for the fact that the school is staffed by experienced and professional teachers means that we can learn more of the programme by looking at their qualities and skills than at abstractly formulated models of pedagogy, and we can see now that this has important consequences.

The implications of the staffing model spread beyond the confines of the school. We have already said that it is difficult for the teachers to share their experience with those outside, but it is difficult too for outside agencies seeking to support the school in developing its curriculum. The strength of the school remains in the experience and competence of the teachers rather than in the host of extra programmes available. The teachers are demanding of relations with outside agents, denying the Bilingual District Coordinator; sceptical of the Boston University link; certain that <u>they</u> are best qualified to engage in development - so long as they had time. The prominent exception (in the course of the case study) was in the Aquarium link. The teachers were more than tolerant of those outsiders - partly, they say, because the

Aquarium staff made no claims to the territory - in fact they claimed at the outset to be incompetent. Similarly, the Plymouth Plantation visit was welcomed with no sense of defense. Again there was no conceivable territorial threat. Unlike, perhaps, the rather awkward exchanges with Boston University.

We see curriculum development in the school caught in the space between teacher autonomy and a shared pressure simply to manage the curriculum. Part of the problem is simply in locating the best forum for discussion, and, in the end, it seems that much latent curriculum development exists in the school but cannot find appropriate forms for its release. Some of this we have mentioned already. Some is repressed consciously - Emilio's radical views of Hispanic cultural history, for example, which the administration finds difficult to handle and the community (as represented by the aides) finds antithetical.

It is hard to imagine any significant curriculum development appropriate to bilingual/bicultural settings without a fundamental challenge to curriculum and curriculum organisation as currently conceived. Both the case study and the complementary studies illustrate curricula that are 'proof' against the individuality of the child, and against feedback that might be critical of the curriculum. One consequence of the fossilization of the mainstream curriculum is the assumption that flaws in standards of achievement and discrepancies between students' performance and their natural Grade 'level' are attributable to student rather than curriculum deficit.

We have seen, however, that the Hernandez tends to encourage experimentation - if only in terms of institutional variety and within programmatic parameters. Within the experience of the school there would seem to be sufficient knowledge of the range of pedagogical options to begin to develop models grounded in knowledge of effects and outcomes. Existing organisational arrangements - particularly those which force the teachers to defend their boundaries - prevent the proper articulation of that experience. The rigidly hierarchical and compound role structure proposed in the Lau Compliance Plan could only compound the effect. The structure is devised to pass dictum and sanction from the top down; whilst exacting commitments and accountability from the bottom up.

The assumption is that current practice is transparent, obvious, not in need of careful study. And yet we opened this section with the assertion of teacher development and curriculum development going hand-in-hand. The way to foster both lies through agencies and arrangements which relieve teachers of duties to confirm their practice (through having to account for it) and which, instead, create the protection needed for those teachers to question their practice. Advisers and coordinators might (as they have been in Britain) be the promoters and guardians of curriculum research in the school - rather than the accountants and supernumeraries they are increasingly likely to become. Currently, pragmatism rules as the Hernandez School gives to the School Committee all that belongs to the School Committee: literacy, basic skills and all that is assessed by the testing programme. Autonomy is preserved in expressive areas - in the Picnic and the Fiesta, and to a degree in the Homeroom (albeit under siege from the levelling system and special programmes). Here the teachers and the students (and to some degree the community) come into their own, the curriculum breaths life and becomes "cultural" in the full sense of the word. But privately - and in a secret garden.

In a more purposeful scheme, in a system more attuned to the overlapping needs of teachers and students to share rich and productive learning experiences, the garden that is tended in secret would be nurtured in public.

3. POLITICS AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION - AN OVERVIEW

BARRY MACDONALD

> *"There is an implicit order in American society basic to all else - the order of the institutions. The schools do not exist freely outside that order; they are an integral part of it. Education can deviate only in the direction and to the extent that society allows. To understand the substance of the schools and their peculiar forms you must understand these basic elements. Whatever the season, education is a frozen institution."*
>
> Ernest House, The Politics of Educational Innovation

House's comment on twenty years of federal intrusion in the affairs of schools is one we could usefully bear in mind as we review the political history of the bilingual education movement in the United States, and try to see into its future. National politics and local politics have both, at different points in time, exercised a crucial influence on developments. In the case of Boston and the Rafael Hernandez school we have, in the first section of this report, attempted to give the reader an understanding of the dynamics of the local political process and of the interaction between the various institutions involved. As observers grounded in Boston the arena of national politics was necessarily a distant noise, inaccessible to direct observation, represented by laws, regulations, enforcement procedures, and a vocabulary of categories, entitlements and requirements.

This despite the fact that Boston is no isolated outpost. Traffic between it and Washington testifies to a two-way flow of influence, an unusually high degree of interconnectedness. Harvard manufactures as many Washingtonians as Bostonians, and the presence of the Kennedys lends to the city a dimension that spans the spectrum of political life as well as a living example of the k'nd of social and economic evolution that the American dream is made of. Boston is in this sense a microcosm of the United States - there squalor and glamour, impotence and great power, the new world and the old, the illiterate and the elite, live side by side, breathing the same air, crowding the same space, sharing the same fragile peace.

While we were in Boston there was a race incident one day in the heart of the city, on the ancient Common. An adolescent was attacked by a group of adolescents of a different skin pigmentation, and was rescued by the combined intervention of a State senator and a mayoral candidate, who were enjoying a lunch break. Idiosyncratic certainly, but it says a lot about Boston. Bostonians are more conscious than most that there are limits to personal insulation from the co-habitational requirements of contemporary urban society. Residential segregation reflects the division of labour and the division of spoils but merely underscores the imperative of collaborative relationships in the nation's workplaces. Sooner or later you have consent or tanks. Boston has already stared that choice in the face and stepped back.

Our case study remains, nevertheless, a community study of a national movement that has been decisively influenced by people and events and processes outside that community. To derive from that idiosyncratic case alone a generalised perspective or theory of bilingual schooling in the U.S.A. would indeed be rash. At the very least other such studies, with different stories to tell, would need to be taken into account, and only then would we have the basis for an evaluation of the centralised decisionmaking processes that impinge upon, frustrate or facilitate, individual community developments.

On the other hand there are dangers in an over-focalised view, an over-scrupulous confinement to theorising about the intimately known rather than speculating about the broader canvas of events and influences from which a detail has been selected for close analysis. In this concluding perspective an attempt is made to induce from the Boston experience an evaluation of the bilingual education movement as a national phenomenon. And we begin that attempt with a glimpse of Washington, the seat of national power, a glimpse based on a self-portrayal by some of the people embroiled in the difficult and contentious task of shaping an effective and acceptable federal role in the schooling of the United States.

In the summer of 1980, during a private visit to the United States, I had the opportunity to attend a two-day seminar on language policy, organised by the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington and supported by the Ford Foundation. It was hosted by the University of New Mexico and attended by many leading bilingual advocates. The idea

was to promote among the linguistic minority campaigners a better understanding of educational policy-making processes at the federal and state levels of government. To this end the seminar was structured around four foci - Congress and the current state of educational policy-making, the role of the executive branch, educational interest groups, and the state perspective. Each of these themes was addressed by a separate panel of invited speakers, most of them from the executive branches of government, all of them experienced and active participants in the formulation of policy. For me the opportunity was timely: I was still working on this report, I'd had no contact with the bilingual movement in the South West, nor had I ever visited Washington to explore the contentious issue of the federal role in education. The Ford Foundation invited me to attend as their observer and to write a personal evaluation of the experience. The task enabled me to crystallise a number of issues and concerns relating to bilingual schooling in the United States and I think it appropriate to introduce this concluding comment by reproducing the main section of the report.

"Forecasts were not optimistic - high temperatures and tepid discourse, a ritual presentation of the public face of officialdom. It did look that way; the platform was stacked with federal and state bureaucrats, lobbyists, camp followers. The professionals. Not the mandarins perhaps, but at least the palace guard, their ring of confidence. I assumed too that the people from the Center for Applied Linguistics, co-sponsors with the host university of this one and a half day event, would line up shoulder to shoulder with the establishment- they too are Washingtonians, drip-fed from the public purse. Few of the names on the speakers roster were known to me; no Bostonians this far west apparently, Chicano territory. Here and there the agenda held a note of recognised promise- in Teitelbaum the legal hawk of the east coasts disenfranchised, and in Fishman, a minority advocate of undoubted intellectual stature.

The event surprised me, a stereotype breaker at many levels. Nearly everyone confounded my expectations. For a start the CAL people were recessive, virtual non-participants, though whether from complacency, prudence or role conviction I couldn't tell. They stuck doggedly to a facilitatory posture, in particular trying to counterbalance an overloaded platform by repeated exhortations to a largely mute floor to lock horns with the presenters. The stand off was of their making nevertheless - too many speakers and too few of them with a direct interest in or knowledge of language policy. What we got was a surfeit of triangulation on the policymaking process, successive hammer blows on the same nail. Presumably CAL issued the invitations, but even they must have been surprised by the ubiquity of the pathological perspective, the duplication of discourse and interpretation. In this context Teitelbaum adopted an (to me) unexpected role, challenging both the reductionism and the ahistorical nature of the platform consensus. I didn't expect a 'hit man' to be so speculative and analytical.

But Fishman's was the stunning performance, a calculated and perfectly timed assumption of leadership, after a whole day of lying in wait, that left the others floundering in his backwash. I'd bet too that he was the only featured speaker who knew the composition of the audience; the others stuck too closely to each other to find out. Fishman spoke only once but then definitively, the stamp of a guru. His became instantly the authorised version of the meaning of the seminar, and of the world to which it related.

Teitelbaum and Fishman were billed as reactors. What of the platform speakers, particularly the presentation of Washington by those who live and work there? Oh, what a surprise to a visitor from Britain, wearied of the numbing, myth maintaining vocabulary of Whitehall. In a sense we never quite recovered from the opening portrayal by congressional staffer Jack Jennings, a rivetting boilerroom account of the ship of state. Not so much a "warts and all" story as a "warts and nothing" revelation of a policy-making process at the mercy of fragmented and discontinuous control and, in the case of bilingual education policy, of a deep-seated and apprehensive ambivalence. The message was reinforced, albeit with a variety of unemphatic qualifications, by speaker after speaker- power without mission, heat without passion, propulsion without direction, argument without information, compromise without coherence, problem solving without problem structure. Situation hopeless but not, it would seem, serious. That's the way things are.

Like at least several others among the fifty or sixty attending the seminar I was startled, shocked, vastly informed by the sometimes painfully honest, sometimes inadvertently revealing stories of the Washington "game" - startled by the relative absence of window dressing, shocked (despite familiarity with the theory) by the distortion of governing judgements and prioritisations induced by single issue pressures, vastly informed about the problems attending the federal role in education. I was also somewhat dismayed/irritated by the reiterated affirmations that the way things are is the only way things can be, an internecine conflict of parrochial wills, dismayed/irritated by the failure to conceive of alternatives to an apparently petrified and encysted process, most of all by the ingenuous/cynical invitations to those present to learn the rules of the Washington game with a view to participation. Could they really be serious about these recommendations- to provide more information to those who have no use for it, to serve up models of educational practice for congressional dismemberment, to compete with all the other fingers clawing for purchase on the wind-pipes of key individuals? Is that really the only game in town?

Perhaps we accepted it all too much at face value- it's easy to confuse honesty with truth, insight with overview, focus with depth. Teitel-baum kept gnawing away at the portrayal, puzzled to explain how such an impotent mechanism could have yielded the civil rights legislation of the sixties, trying to reconcile the dismissal of non-numerical initiatives with the legendary history of the nun who took Massachusetts by storm. But Stan McFarland of the NEA and Jim Browne of California were unmoved - it's who you know and how many you command that counts.

The message was not lost on the linguistic minority advocates present, those who came armed with declarations of rights and the moral fervour of the bilingual crusade. It was clear that some Hispanic activists, flexing their electoral muscles, relished the prospect of a slugging match, increasingly prepared to deal in clout. Don't you need the

anglo liberals?, I asked one at dinner. Not much longer, he thought. (He may be underestimating the strength of the still sleeping giant). But for small minorities like the American Indians the inexorable logic of a power game offers only a dystopian future as sacrificial pawns when the linguistic alliance has secured the succession of the Hispanic queen. They will stick with the Constitution and the lawyers, and mind their backs.

At the end of the seminar I was left with a lot of questions that found no frame in the discussion. We are talking about the problem of caste-flavoured poverty in the midst of wealth, aren't we? So we are talking about an economic movement with a strategic investment in prising open the credentialling institutions of the polity, aren't we?- the redistribution of resources through the equalisation of opportunity to acquire them. Sure, we're talking about other things too, like reversing the cultural asset-stripping that has normalised dominant group skills and preferences at the expense of the "handicapped" lower orders. But the confusion between 'transition' and 'maintenance' as levers of economic change remained unconceptualised and unanalysed, so that what I hoped would be the main focus of discussion, the political negotiability of alternative bilingual possibilities, never got off the ground. Nor was the widely publicised flight of the middle classes from the public schools raised as a contextual trend of significance, although the possibility of minorities capturing a public school system that is no more than the derelict scaffolding of mobile wealth cannot lightly be dismissed. And that brings me to my final point- curriculum and the politics of persuasion. My own game is curriculum, its characterisation, its strengths and weaknesses, its possibilities for growth and improvement. And curriculum is made in schools, not in Washington or in State capitols. And it isn't made as easily or as quickly as the laws and regulations which command its materialisation one day and seek to evaluate its product the next. Yet no-one mentioned curriculum development at the seminar, except to bemoan the insensitivity of the lawmakers to the time requirements of the implementation process. "We know it works", said Fishman, and received a standing ovation. But do we? How do we know, and how can we demonstrate? Is the bilingual concept a concept of the common school? Are we talking about a pedagogical movement confident of demonstrating educational undeniability, an economic movement cognisant of the need to retain the credentialling credibility of the schools, a political movement astute enough to retain popular support? Such questions were not, at least publicly, articulated at the seminar, and remain unanswered. Perhaps there are no answers, just flux, momentum, continuous adjustment in response to discomfort."

That report was written more than a year ago, and it was written primarily, not to describe the seminar, but to provoke competing theories of the federal role in education, particularly in relation to competing visions of bilingual schooling. Provoke it did, but in terms rather broader than I intended. For some the report offered confirmation of the view, mainly held by political conservatives, that federal intervention in the natural social order is a blunt and mindless instrument, destructive of social bond, voluntary organisation, and reasonable community. For others, of differing

political persuasion, it offered further evidence of the need to coerce government to meet in full its social contract obligations, to press constitutional, legislative, legal and executive imperatives as the means of restructuring and broadening access to the possibilities and satisfactions of a reasonable life. This issue, this ideological gulf, is at the heart of the politicisation of bilingual education, and is the bone of the meta-fears and meta-hopes in which it is increasingly enmeshed.

The draft of this book, or to be more precise the draft of the first section, drew some pungent criticism to the effect that "the treatment becomes the story of a political struggle. In feeling and in tone the desire for a better education for Hispanic children is overshadowed by the desire for cultural survival and the acquisition of political clout." The same reactor went on to say "The popular press in the U.S. has consistently misrepresented the nature of bilingual education, its goals and its motivations. I cannot stress too strongly that the case study should tell a truer story than do the editorials. To do so it must give at least an equal emphasis to the linguistics, educational and common sense parts of the rationale for bilingual education."

Fair comment, but the problem of telling the "true story" is not resolved by attending only to the juxtaposition of perspectives. The task is to understand how bilingual education practice has been, and continues to be, shaped by the strategies that gave it space, and by the forces it engages. Of course bilingual schooling is an educational movement, with an undeniable rationale and at least one impeccable wellspring of motivation. People everywhere want a good education for their children, and for poor people who themselves have been denied that opportunity it is perhaps the most powerful of all their dreams. But schools, where this education must take place, are political institutions, agencies of the polity. Were this not the case it is doubtful whether we would now have universal compulsory public school systems for those without the means to withhold their children. Schooling is a requirement as well as an entitlement and those who contest such of its stipulative features as the language of instruction must necessarily take on its controlling institutions.

These institutions are the legislatures, the courts and the bureaucracies. In a country like the United States the control of primary agencies such as schools is widely distributed through a complex set of checks and

balances calculated to frustrate non-consensual change. Bilingual schooling is a non-consensual change. In simple majoritarian terms it is an unpopular movement even if, as we must, we qualify that statement to take account of population concentrations and localised electoral sensitivities. And it is of course, as a movement of disadvantaged minorities, most underrepresented in precisely those elite institutions - the legislatures, courts and bureaucracies - that formally control the school brief. Yet the movement has made significant political gains. Within a historically brief period of time bilingual schooling has become legitimate, tax-supported, enforceable. The overall picture may be patchy, subject to defiance, default and mindless compliance but it has undoubtedly arrived and will be just as difficult to remove as it was to move in. The question remains- will the educational price of this political success turn out to be too high?

Let us look critically at what was achieved - in Congress, on Beacon Hill, in the courts and in the executive agencies of government. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 was a legislative breakthrough at the federal level, one that was quickly followed up by Massachusetts at the state level. But the values embodied in and upheld by those acts were the very values that the bilingual activists sought to challenge - the values of assimilation into an English-dominant culture. They offered remediation based on a deficit model of the linguistic minority child, they limited both the time and the dollars available to effect transition and they charged their bureaucracies with the task of ensuring compliance and testing success.

It is doubtful if anyone at the time foresaw the curriculum consequences of these apparently facilitatory and supportive acts. As we have seen, democratic political arenas are singularly short on long sightedness, and it is doubtful if such a minority cause with so little to trade could have fared any better. But the consequences are only too clear, even in a school like the Rafael Hernandez. The transitional mandate grips the curriculum in an educationally reductionist vice. It is not just that the acquisition of English language skills dominates the activities of teachers and pupils alike but that the very definition and pursuit of those skills is constrained by narrow interpretations of legislative intent. The result is a largely behaviourist pedagogy of quasi-Skinnerian character.

Language is divorced from its cultural contexts of meaning and use, componentised and taught as abstraction. This is arguably the most difficult way yet devised to promote literacy and the least responsive to the student's cultural resources.

These last comments are open to objection, both as an assessment of the Rafael Hernandez and as an attribution of cause. Isn't the Hernandez a splendid example of good schooling? Does it not excel in precisely those criteria summarised by Lawrence Cremin in the following words.

> "*A number of studies indicate that certain kinds of schools are unusually effective. Whether the students are rich kids, poor kids, blacks, Hispanics or whites, these schools look very much alike on some criteria. The principal leads his teachers. The teachers become committed to teaching the basic skills. Expectations become high. Time is spent on classroom tasks, and a happy order pervades the school. Rules are widely known and quickly enforced. Parents are brought into the act and are supportive. In such schools, black kids learn, white kids learn, green kids learn.*"
>
> (Time, June 16, 1980)

Cremin might have been describing the Rafael Hernandez. Common sense tells us this is a good school; close analysis tells us it has a long way to go, and contextual analysis suggests that it is imprisoned at its present level of development.

In the previous sections of this conclusion my colleagues have identified some problematic features of bilingual schooling. Clem Adelman points to the reductionist perspectives of those bilingual evaluators commissioned by executive agencies whose narrowly defined responsibilities have confined investigative focus to pre-specified policy goals. The "remedy" is unpopular, therefore the remedy must prove its efficacy, therefore the instruments of proof must have primacy in assessment. The result is not only that bilingual education efforts are judged by a biased and defect-ridden technology that caricatures the purposes of schooling but that these efforts become progressively distorted until the countenance of the curriculum comes to resemble the features of the test.

Saville Kushner and Rob Walker point out some effects of this process in the Hernandez- the convergent uniformity of the curriculum, the

centrality of manifest language skills, the predominance of decontextualised, non-inductive instruction, a form of teaching that maximises short term performance but is a poor basis for long term achievement or the capacity for independent learning. These curriculum features can of course be found in many ordinary schools. We are not suggesting that they are confined to bilingual programmes and we are aware that in actively religious communities, and particularly Catholic communities, the roots of such practices are long and strong. Nor are we suggesting, therefore, that bilingual teaching does not reflect the experience and inclinations of bilingual teachers. What we are saying is that bilingual legislation, by means of the regulatory and monitoring procedures it has generated, tends to reinforce rather than challenge what, in other educational settings, is recognised as questionable or obsolescent practice. Kushner and Walker also point out, as Adelman's critique of bilingual research implies, that the educational integration of the formal and informal curricula of the Hernandez is frustrated by the selective requirements of formal accountability.

There are of course other factors. The 1968 Bilingual Education Act, which made funds available for demonstration programmes, failed to provide for teacher development. Prototype curricula therefore, in the Hernandez as no doubt elsewhere, were fashioned through the intuitive adhocery of the first generation of practitioners, and curriculum wisdom became the prerogative of the veteran. This was a recipe for conservatism and resi[illegible] to the relatively unscarred would-be developers who subsequently [illegible]ght critical access to the new tradition.

Yet another factor is the nature of the student population. How do you teach kids who may not be back next year, next month, next day, who may have an unknown educational past and face an uncertain educational future? If you cannot depend on extended opportunity over time, or extensive continuity of provision, then the tendency is to modularise, to componentise, to emphasise short term objectives. And how do you teach kids with low academic motivation, poor health, problematic domestic environments, learning disabilities, fragile self-esteem? Why, of course you exploit teacher-dominant strategies to create and maintain an energising classroom milieu that is charged with excitement and offers continuous reinforcement of modest learning increments.

Does all this add up to House's 'frozen' institution? Well, that depends. Some constraints will ease, some will wash out in time. Schools like the Hernandez have demonstrated the extent to which caring and committed institutions can stabilise student attendance and even parental residence. Continuing success in these vital efforts, combined with a settled and educationally responsive assignment system will certainly ease some of the present restrictions on planning as well as reducing the amount of energy and initiative devoted to protecting the school against external threats to its well-being. Some of the defensive, suspicious territorialism that now insulates the school from friend and foe alike will give way, at least selectively, as people of relevant competence and transparent goodwill continue to knock on the door. In this sense the seeds of change are already there, though they may be slow to mature. But the Bilingual Acts remain, their majoritarian values intact. Can they be changed, as some activists now propose? Can bilingual schooling win the freedom to find its optimal expression as an educational process?

Predictions are hazardous, such is the complexity of the bilingual schooling phenomenon. The unanimous Supreme Court 1974 decision in Lau versus Nichols anchored bilingual schooling in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, although the movement did not exist at that time and was not anticipated by the legislation. The Lau ruling, that "students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education" was a landmark with far-reaching implications that are still, at the time of writing, being worked through. Although the Court did not prescribe bilingual schooling as a remedy, it did call for appropriate affirmative action on the part of those responsible for educational provision. It was followed immediately by a new federal Equal Educational Opportunities Act that made the ruling binding on all school districts, and by a rash of litigation to secure enforcement. Bilingual programmes were typically seen as constituting appropriate affirmative action, but the significant change was that the obligation to ensure that the remedy was effective passed from the bilingual campaigners to the school authorities. Federally funded Lau Compliance centres are now in location across the land, assisting in the formulation of so-called Voluntary Lau Compliance Plans. Volunteer, or face prosecution!

In quantitative terms Lau entails a considerable expansion of the

bilingual education constituency- more bilingual programmes, more jobs for bilingual professionals (the Equal Educational Opportunities Act excepted from its general ban on discriminatory hiring the mandated requirement to overcome language barriers) more investment to ensure that the steps taken are adequate. More bread is on the way. But dreams?

Let us pause and consider the implications of Lau for the development of quality education for linguistic minorities. Bilingual schooling is still an unpopular innovation. The Supreme Court speaks to the people, not for them. Lau has reinforced the coercive image of the bilingual movement, its lack of foundation in the general will of the citizenry. Its educational rationale is increasingly overlaid with the discourse of civil rights rather than civic needs- litigation, enforcement, and policing are its most visible political expressions. Judges, lawyers and bureaucrats, rather than educationists define its forms, its purposes, its efficacy. They talk in terms of power, accountability, specifications, regulations, management and control. They do not talk about growth, exploration, experimentation, development, least of all about consent, even professional consent. They pay no heed to public clamour.

Now it cannot be denied that where school systems are unresponsive to minority demands for a fair deal and remain unresponsive even when those demands are supported by state and federal variations of the stick and carrot incentive, then litigation is the most effective means of opening such systems to necessary reform. But education is a vulnerable process, even more sensitive than other welfare services to participant ill-will, even more dependent for its effectiveness on the active and committed support of all its organisational personnel. Medicines bring relief, food stamps retain their purchasing power, but education is not that kind of commodity and in this sense the law is a powerful but limited ally. The Supreme Court, in reaching its judgement about Lau, provided a legal basis for the furtherance of bilingual schooling but in a form that, from a curriculum development perspective, is transparently irrational. Dissemination first, evaluation second, development nowhere. "Modest initiatives illuminated by evolutionary imagery" are not within the Supreme Court's repertoire.

We cannot emphasise too strongly the dangers of the bilingual movement's

increasing reliance on Lau and its progeny. In the first place the Supreme Court did nothing to counter the prevailing concept of bilingual education, a concept already embodied in federal and state law, as a concept of remedial provision for linguistically handicapped children. The image of bilingual education as a remedy rather than an opportunity was reinforced by the Court. In the second place Lau, and the bilingual movement's response to Lau- the path of coercive enforcement, was bound to heighten the unpopularity of the movement, to disperse its energies and concentrate them on the courtroom rather than the classroom. It did not have to take this path. One function of the Supreme Court is to draw the nation's attention to great issues of principle, to provide the stimulus for a considered review of its beliefs and arrangements. The bilingual activists might have taken the opportunity to launch a new campaign of persuasion, reserving litigation as an instrument of last resort. In the end unpopular laws that affect or antagonise large numbers of citizens merely expose the limits of government and in the process drive even the most benign of executive agencies to narrow, inflexible, and ultimately self-defeating efforts to secure implementation.

The prospects, we conclude, are not encouraging. The bilingual schooling 'remedy', in reality a concept that lays upon one immature educational strategy the burden of rectifying the whole of human history, will again be asked again and again to prove itself, too soon and on too few counts. It cannot possibly deliver; to do so would, in any case, suggest an abandonment of its educational pretensions. But it is caught in a restrictively conceptualised product model of accountability, and it is not easy to see how it can escape. There are simply too many people now with the right to interfere in what they do not understand, but without the corresponding obligation to understand what they hold in trust. This is a latent dilemma of the kind of democracies we live in and the United States may be reaching the point of maximum collision between the contractarian thrust in political life and the conservative resistance. Bilingual education is a compelling example of an idea immobilised between these two great social forces. Unless and until this dilemma is more widely understood it is difficult to see either a way forward or a way back.

4. LINGUISTIC MINORITIES IN BRITAIN

CLEM ADELMAN
BARRY MACDONALD

In terms of curriculum development, staffing and the implementation of legislation on civil rights, schools in the U.S.A. have made headway in establishing practices for bilingual schooling. They contrast markedly with the paucity of such developments in the U.K. (apart from schools in some areas of Wales where bilingual schooling has been a practice since the 19th century). Until the late 60s in the U.K. few Local Education Authorities provided even English as a Second Language tuition, and although the EEC Directive on the Education of Migrant Workers Children was passed in 1977 and came into force in 1981, only a handful of Education Authorities have gone beyond a planning stage. As in the U.S.A. in the 1960s and 70s, in the U.K. currently there are few qualified teachers bilingual in a non-indigenous mother tongue and in English. Recently some in-service second language programmes have been introduced to help teachers communicate with children who are not proficient in oral English. For the most part such children are withdrawn from the school's timetable for different periods of time for English as a Second Language tuition.

With an even greater linguistic diversity than in the U.S.A. (a range of 55 languages plus another 50 distinct dialects in London schools alone, for instance), widespread bilingual schooling would be slow and difficult to develop. What has developed has been in response to the numbers and concentration of school children of a particular linguistic minority in any one Education Authority. The EEC Directive, the only specific legislation in the area of schooling relating to minority languages, does not require an integrated bilingual curriculum, but a rapid transitional programme comprising mainly ESL alongside mother-tongue and culture classes "in co-ordination with normal education". Pre and in-service teacher training to mee. the Directive would be required. Although transitional, the EEC Directive is not assimilatory, indeed the mother-tongue teaching is provided principally to facilitate the pupils' "possible re-integration into a member state of origin". The Directive is thus mainly concerned with the Community's migrant worker populations. In the U.K. the relationship between the language of tuition, the mother tongue and the academic attainment of new immigrants (first or second generation), and the development of multi-cultural resources, have been the main concerns.

The Interim Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the education of ethnic minority groups (The Rampton Report 1981), stands out amongst Government-commissioned reports of the last 10 years in that it makes strong and specific recommendations for schooling in the context of what it acknowledges to be a racially biased society. Organisations of teachers and educators concerned with cultural/linguistic diversity and schooling such as the National Association for Multicultural Education and local Councils for Racial Equality, promote discussions about the development of curriculum responsive to various constituencies and their children. For the most part acknowledgement of cultural diversity in the U.K. schools as manifested in the curriculum has, for the most part, been within a transitional rather than a maintenance approach. Educational research and curriculum development have only recently been considering the implication for schools of cultural diversity. (See V.S. Khan, 'The Mother-Tongue of Linguistic Minorities in Multicultural England', Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1980, and Margaret R.M. Brook, 'The Mother-Tongue Issue in Britain: Cultural Diversity or Control', British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1980.)

In Boston the facts of dispersal of pupils across the city and the frequency of pupil moves from one school to another across the city, across states and between the U.S. mainland and Puerto Rico, exacerbate the problems of allocation and scheduling of pupils within schools. Such geographical mobility, whatever the particular population, has not been characteristic of U.K. nor is the allocation of pupils, except in one or two Education Authorities, organised to provide a specific maximum and minimum ethnic or linguistic mix. Primary and middle schools in the U.K. particularly draw their pupils from relatively stable residential areas and enjoy a very high rate of attendance.

The careful selection of graded texts, particularly for literacy and numeracy, which provide progression and sequence (particularly in the Rafael Hernandez school), could serve as a model for U.K. schools that are trying to allocate children according to language proficiency rather than by chronological age. Although U.K. primary schools do not use the term 'levelling', they have what is known as a 'vertical grouping system' which allows individual children to be taught according to their

attainment and their needs. Few, if any, U.K. schools have drawn on any theory of transitional practice, as have the Rafael Hernandez and Russell schools in Boston (i.e. $L'O \rightarrow \frac{L'L}{L^2O} \rightarrow L^2L$).

Both the quality of parental support and involvement at the Rafael Hernandez school and the appointment of a bilingual Hispanic woman principal, contrast not only with the three other case study schools, but also with schools in the U.K. Such a combination of symbolic and effective parental support for a school which has a constituency of brown or black, first or second generation immigrant children, would be unusual in the U.K. just as it is in the U.S.A. The need to encourage the training of teachers from black and brown communities, their promotion within schools as well as the improvement of the inadequate in-service provision, have been recommended by the Rampton Report (QV) and a recent research report (S.J. Eggleston, 1981).

The development of bilingual schooling to the extent exemplified by the Rafael Hernandez school, would take an enormous amount of planning, training and development both for educationalists and administrators. Given the relative autonomy of head teachers in England and Wales to make decisions about curriculum and staffing, it is unlikely that any widespread development of bilingual schooling would be possible, whatever the size of the minority languages community, unless the Local Education Authority is willing to plan and resource such developments no matter what the EEC Directive's requirements.

The needs of Britain's linguistic minorities, and the problem of equal educational opportunity, have at least been recognised by the latest report on this still dormant issue:

> *"Most children from bi- or trilingual homes in Britain face a rift between language use in the home and community and language use at school. While they utilise their extensive repertoire of different dialects according to the setting, they soon internalise the rejection or devalued position of their home language. Even where teaching of the language is impossible within the school setting, it is important that our education system recognises the existence of alternative forms of schooling. These unofficial schools represent a need that is not met by the education system and face the problems of teacher training and materials development that are increasingly acknowledged in the maintained school system. If these two areas are not tackled in a professional and*

collaborative way, there is little chance of our education system and society offering equal opportunities in education to bilingual and biliterate children. Their specific needs should, whenever possible, be met in the context of the multicultural atmosphere outlined in earlier sections. At present there is little rapport or exchange of expertise between mother-tongue teachers and teachers in the maintained school system. This is a challenge that has implications for the overall education of bilingual children, but also wider implications for the education system as a whole."

(Education of Children in Ethnic Minority Groups : Schools Council, London, 1982)

The Boston case studies illustrate many of the problems and successes that may attend bilingual schooling should this be developed in U.K. state schools.

British immigration policy has not been accompanied by Government expenditure on teaching immigrants in their mother tongues. Immigrants who need to work or go to school have to learn English rapidly. On joining the EEC, Britain became open to migrant workers and their families. These EEC migrant workers have to maintain their mother tongue in order that their children retain the option of returning to the parents' country of origin. Whether the EEC Directive on the education of migrant workers' children is implemented or not, the U.K. will be host to more workers who will form larger non-English language communities.

To a large extent the availability of work for EEC migrants will depend on the geographical location of productive industrial plants, taking into account endemic unemployment. In the U.K. the absolute dominance of English as the language of commerce, industry, the law and, to a large extent, higher and school education, will in a sense be challenged by the migrant workers' need to form their own language communities (and schools) with or without the implementation of the EEC Directive.

Schools and schooling will need to respond to these language communities, and there can be little doubt that bilingual schooling will be initiated in some locations. Those involved in planning and development will probably look for guidance to the U.S.A. as well as to the arrangements for schooling in, for example, Sweden, where more than four children of the same mother tongue in any one school have the right to have their

lessons through a bilingual transitional arrangement. Planners and developers may find this case study of bilingual schooling in Boston a useful source when they come to envisage scenarios.

It would be sentimental, however, to overlook or minimise the obstacles in Britain that impede the development of educational provision that is responsive to the needs and resources of linguistic minorities. Britain is a linguistically ethnocentric and racist country, even more so than the United States. In the past twenty years Britain has responded to modest influxes of its own Commonwealth peoples by immigration laws and controls designed to limit the numbers of non-white people. Legislative racism has during that time attained all-party respectability. Economic recession has here, as elsewhere, hardened racist attitudes to the point of harmony with industrial requirements for cheap, disposable labour. Racism makes it possible, in other words, to control the flow of work-seeking migrants and to minimise their entitlement to costly services. Education is such a service, and under-provision is the consequence. The link between education, economics and racism may be put more baldly. The more skilled a population is the less disposable it is. Education (not necessarily schooling) gives people bargaining power in the battle for a decent living. Race-based discrimination, ironically defended as a way of maintaining the bargaining power of the indigenous labour force, decisively undermines that power by ensuring that the basements of our economic institutions are filled with a powerless alternative reservoir.

This is the context in which linguistic minorities, particularly those with the additional stigma of non-white pigmentation, will struggle for exits from this poverty wheel. There is no reason to believe that the struggle will be easier, or shorter, or more successful than the one we have described.

APPENDIX

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

SAVILLE KUSHNER

PREAMBLE

This appendix is an account of the design, methods and performance of this study. It is written by Saville Kushner with some improvements offered by MacDonald, Adelman and Walker. Kushner is the 'junior' member of the CARE team and is of the generation which followed the three other members of the British team who were all prominent in developing case study methodology. For those two reasons his independence has always been at risk in attempting to produce an insider's critique of the study, though the intention has always been to protect that independence. It did not work. The pressure of a more prominent role than had originally been envisaged for Kushner together with a lack of intellectual independence from the subjects of the critique who were also colleagues and mentors, blunted the edge of the analysis. Nonetheless, the views and interpretations offered are Kushner's - frequently, they run contrary to the views the other three members of the team hold.

One of the reasons Ford commissioned this study was in order to explore an alternative to the dominant but divisive quantitative evaluations that had hitherto characterised attempts at comprehending the nature and impact of bilingual education. We take that to be an interesting sponsoring decision and this appendix is, in part, a report to the Ford Foundation portraying some of its consequences. It is also, of course, the methodological 'code-breaker' which may help the reader to better understand the main body of the report.

Introduction

In the United States, as in Britain, academic students of policy (especially when sponsored by government) find it increasingly difficult to sustain claims to objectivity in the face of the suspicion that they are but another instrument of a dominant culture. In the context of this study that suspicion was reflected in the hostility of bilingual advocates to the evaluation label and in the Ford Foundation's attempt to secure dispassion through imported investigators - the CARE team. Of course, the British team is white ('Anglo'), and though our associations are with a power elite which is distant and 'foreign', our cultural assumptions are probably more closely alligned to those of the dominant American culture than to those of its ethnic minority groups. Why, then, were we given access by the Hispanic communities? Why, in particular, did the Hernandez School allow us beyond their locked doors? On hearing that MacDonald was interviewing antagonists as well as protagonists in the political community, one of the teachers in the Hernandez had spontaneously interpreted this as a threat to the school, and had challenged the school fieldworkers. For her it mattered little whether the researchers were hostile or merely naive - the net effect was the same. She saw that research creates information for those who can and will use it in ways not anticipated by those who provide it. And yet, at no time were the researchers threatened with exclusion.

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Case study involves researchers and subjects meeting 'face-to-face'. Case fieldworkers become enmeshed in unusual combinations of social relationships which they and their respondents create, and create fast - often unaware of their genesis or of their consequences. This project employed methods which reflect and simulate common social discourse (talking, watching, trading information). Throughout, we relied upon the Hernandez School staff to tolerate these relationships though they probably had as little immediate understanding of them as we did. The fieldwork was condensed - as was the process of building relationships. And so were the kinetics of making judgements regarding the value of the study. First impressions stick - for researchers and researched.

Our research was naturalistic but it was not natural; its success depended on being able to establish the project as a temporary structure in a situation where any such structure was inevitably viewed as a potential threat as well, perhaps, as a potential resource. Success for us lay in the promise that intimate interactions would evoke intimate accounts and so generate a sophisticated understanding of the relations between people and events. But what would constitute success for the school? At minimum, emerging unscathed (which they may yet do); and beyond that, possibly, the promotion of their ideals and practices. They could expect little with surety. Nonetheless, the school staff were accustoned to playing a prominent advocacy role in bilingual education development and we might have been offering a continuation of their dissemination activities. But the threat was clearly greater than the promise.

When Maria, the Principal, agreed to allow access to the research team MacDonald asked her why. "Because I trust you," she answered. Her trust may since have proved to have been less well-founded than it seemed at that moment, but the point is that Maria was asserting the va ue and the right to personal judgement over protocol in her decision. The staff, likewise, used personal judgements to choose their own forms of participation. In this they tended to be closer observers of our actions than of our rhetoric - rarely challenging us on our procedures; regularly challenging us on principle. The responsibility lying with a researcher who operates on trust rather than license is demanding.

In this annex we explore the issues raised by our relationships with the staff of the Hernandez school in the research process. The greater part of this account relates to the research carried out in the school. There is little coverage of either MacDonald's research in the Boston community or of the Boston University team's complementary studies. MacDonald's researches were almost exclusively confined to interviews and documentary analysis. Methodologically, his experience does not lack interest. The construction of such a complex account out of twenty seven interviews (many of which produced contradictory data - frequently mutually exclusive) is bound to raise significant issues of validation and technique. The style of MacDonald's account (section I of this report) is clearly idiosyncratic and raises fascinating issues in itself. However, the greater part of MacDonald's data generation was conducted in one-to-one situations, was more controllable by both MacDonald and

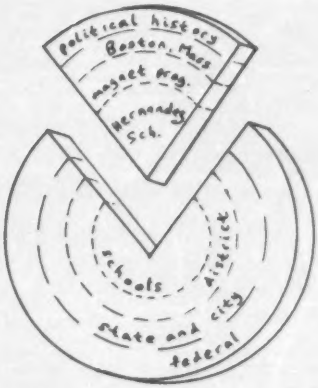
the interviewee, did not subject the participant to extended exposure and, as a result, was less contentious as a process. The core activity of the case study - the school-based research - differed in all respects including the contention. (It is important to stress, nonetheless, that MacDonald's data were all negotiated and were crucially dependent upon negotiations not for endorsement of his account but for the evocation of issues and interpretations from the community. The complementary studies were, of course also negotiated - by the Boston team.)

As a preliminary we will look at the 'mechanics' of the research, commencing with the design of the study.

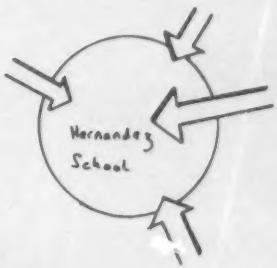
Design

As this study was conceived it rested upon previous experience in designing qualitative evaluations using condensed fieldwork techniques. Much of that experience derived from the SAFARI evaluation [1]) - based in England and also sponsored by Ford in the mid-1970s. It was in that project that MacDonald and Walker, along with other colleagues, developed research designs which, for relatively low expenditure of resources, allowed a high degree of penetration normally associated with expensive and lengthy ethnographic studies. A combination of issues focussing, intensive interviewing, selective observation and the negotiation of accounts with participants made it possible to complete a school case study on a base of seven days fieldwork. SAFARI had also demonstrated how educational case studies whose boundaries reached out to contexts of local and national decision-making, could be used for policy evaluation. Such an approach was novel in that it offered an analysis which linked classroom observations with current policies more directly than previous qualitative research in this field.[2]) A particularly attractive feature of the methodology in this bilingual context was the set of negotiation procedures designed to handle sensitive data. This was the background against which the design of the present study was evolved. When Ford first asked MacDonald to tackle this study on a 9-month personal consultancy, he responded with the offer of a team-based, condensed case study. In the final design MacDonald would research the policy and historical contexts; Walker would tackle the school perspective; Adelman was to focus on classroom observation; and the Boston team produce the complementary studies.

The experience gained from SAFARI and from subsequent evaluations conducted under the overall rubric of what MacDonald provocatively termed 'Democratic Evaluation' [3]) were fed into the design for this study. In essence the intention of the research design was to take a transect of the American education system looking simultaneously at all levels from Federal, through state and city, to school and classroom. Bilingual education policy would be reviewed from its conception to its practice and to its impact on a single child.



.... rather than a more conventional view of a school case study as ....



The aspiration was not, however, to follow the pathways (and the assumptions) of 'top-down' managerial models of policy implementation - it was, in a sense, the reverse. The design sought to allow the case study to move 'out' from the school and to review policy development in the light of the exigencies of educational practice.

Nor was the intention to stick doggedly to the strictures of evaluation (- given the sensitivity of participants, we did not even allow ourselves the use of the label). Democratic Evaluation supplied negotiating protocols, for example, but did not constrain MacDonald - as they would

normally have done - from giving his own interpretations and constructions prominence in the generation and reporting of data. In Section 1 we read an account which is an arbitration of conflicting stories and interpretations. One of MacDonald's favoured interview techniques in Boston was to offer a summary of 'the story so far' - as he perceived it - asking the interviewee for comments, corrections, elaborations etc. In his more accustomed evaluator role he would have been more reserved about introducing interpretations of his own for fear of distorting the relative weighting ascribed by participants. The interview would probably be used to elicit propositions which the interviewee would then be encouraged to evaluate.[4]) Even so, the values inimical to democratic models (recognition of value-pluralism; accessibility to processes of data generation; participant control over the range of issues represented; etc.) remained as more than a detritus though we will see below that the school fieldworkers found them hard to operationalise whilst coping with the complexities of the school.

Case Study

The title of this study suggests our aspiration to address issues across the whole field of bilingual education. The aim was to discover through the in-depth study of one school, characteristics which could be ascribed to the whole category of schooling in bilingual education and to conduct an issues analysis of those characteristics. The focus was almost exclusively on process factors rather, for example, than on measurable learning outcomes.

The central feature of the design was a case study of a single school. As the whole case came to be defined - during the course of study - it was constituted by data which ultimately spanned the range from classroom to courtroom and from pedagogy to political process. To give our definition of case study succinctly is no easy task. The attempts that have been made [5a]) tend to be adequate unto themselves insofar as they tend to characterise research experiences unique (in the nature of naturalistic enquiry) to their authors. One characteristic of case study is the flexibility of its operation. Case study methodology embraces a repertoire of techniques and procedures rather than an integral set. Interviewing, observation, documentary analysis, negotiation, varying styles of reporting are all likely to be used in case studies - but, as instruments, case studies embody an unusual property in that they adapt to match the character of what they observe. Hence, case studies may vary in their definitions whilst maintaining strong familial features. Even so, proponents of

educational case studies who pursue naturalistic interpretations tend to work from related intellectual sources, frequently with related and similar aspirations.

Considering its growing and now widespread popularity, case study has received little attention from typologists. There are attempted definitions around and they include, among the better-known, an 'examination of a facet', 'an instance in action', 'a bounded system', a 'consistent member of a target population' and 'a sample of one'. [5b] Frequently such definitions concern the relation between a case and its class, and the way generalisations may be generated from case studies. The problem in this enquiry is that that relation changes during the course of the study. From Section 1 of the report, for example, it can be seen that the 'class' (if such it is) could be assumed to shift between bilingual education and civil rights movements. Indeed when MacDonald addresses Federal issues the study begins to lose its grounding in the Boston community case. The dynamics of such shifts are created by the data from the case, and that is exacting on any methodology which aspires to scientific rigour. It is, of course, substantially at variance with conventions in quantitative studies which proscribe the characteristics of samples or cases with inferences made about a stable class. The point is, however, that the notion of both class and case can be evolved and articulated throughout the course of a study - as an integral process. In this enquiry the case 'boundaries' extended far beyond the classroom into the political hinterlands - but (in spite of our intentions) failed to reach over the road from the school into the residential community. What is clear, however, is that a case study must ultimately provide its own context - which is to say that it must be comprehensible and, within its own terms, comprehensive. If this case study purports to achieve any insight beyond its own particular context then understandings within its boundaries must be complete. You cannot effectively move to the road atlas if your street-map cannot tell you the best options for exiting the city. And there lies another dormant definition of case study relating parts to wholes.

The part-whole relation is compelling. We may, however, vary the conception of parts and wholes just a little. With the assistance of laser technology. We may imagine case studies to be like holograms. Or rather, this case study may be like a hologram shard. When you read our report you are not experiencing an element or a distillation or a

representation or a subset or a sample of a defined class. You are looking directly at the class which is imprinted in its totality on the case - just as an image is imprinted on every fragment of a hologram. Shift the angle and look acutely rather than obliquely into the shard - you see your erstwhile partial view of the totality continuing unbroken into the inner distance - distorted by the direction in which you have chosen to look. Choose another shard (another case) and you have access to the same complete image - but with a unique set of distorted facets according to the original position of the shard when the laser imprint was first made.

In case study we seek to generate data of a character that allows us to penetrate beyond statements and actions in order to illuminate predispositions and purposes. So conceived the case study might reveal subtle interactions between individual and social histories, and between these and educational intentions. The attempt is to build a biography of the case which might be used to understand how apparently unrelated events are contingent upon each other or upon a common structure. In the search for that 'biography' we are strongly influenced by values of 'disinterest' [6] and we tend towards favouring participant judgements, theories and issues rather than our own or those of our peers in research. Negotiation of accounts goes beyond the need to 'clear' data - it aims to evoke participant issues and interpretations in such a way as to move towards a transformation of biography into 'autobiography'.[7]

Finally, the case study offers examples of process which are typical though not representative of general processes. The relationship between a school and a school system (between the Hernandez School and bilingual schooling) is assumed to be familial but not clonelike.

These are, of course, intentions and heuristics. Having read the foregoing report, however, the reader might guage the result (if not judge the success) of the enterprise in its own terms. We can offer something of a penetrating, if crude, test. One of the preliminary readers of this report asked a question of us (not, perhaps, without some irony) - 'Will learning decrease with the absence of university funds for picnics?' That question exposes our report where it has to be weakest. It picks at the interconnectedness of our data and worries at the ability of the biography to account for itself.

Stresses of Condensed Field work

Condensed fieldwork rests upon an understanding of structure wherein each new research setting is a transformation or a variant of familiar processes uncovered in previous investigations. There is not much time to work, and a memory of previous insights together with a knowledge of shortcomings offers research 'credits' towards getting on with the job.

That was important to our attempts at condensed fieldwork in the United States. In a foreign setting we were engaged with an unfamiliar discourse. For example, Britain has yet to confront its racism as boldly and clinically as has the United States. The British team's sense of our imbued racism was poorly developed and this did not escape the Hernandez staff who regarded us in that respect as naive. In the first report draft we recorded that all but one of the Hispanic aides were Puerto Rican. We had no satisfactory response during negotiations when asked by the teachers why we were insistent upon identifying the ethnic origins of students - we knew the formal argument and could respond to that, but what was an appropriate response to the concern? And it was only after three weeks of primary fieldwork and a further three of negotiation with individuals and groups of the staff that our difficulty in establishing a dialogue with aides was explained - by Rosaria - in terms of a reserve characteristic of Hispanic women for which we were unprepared.

We were, of course, equally unprepared for resonances of normal American school practice in the Hernandez School. How much of what we were seeing was an import from the mainstream system? How much an adaptation of the school? Naivety is a research tool with which the researcher can take the unnoticed and commonplace and fashion them into a problematic. Even so, the learning phase we had available to orientate our perspectives was necessarily longer in a foreign country. The consequences of getting it wrong were greater, commensurate with the distance between the Hernandez School and our offices.[8])

The final report bears the scars of condensed fieldwork and of the consequences of not getting it right. There was insufficient time for Adelman and Walker to devise and adapt a research strategy appropriate to the school setting and appropriate to their resources. Boston University graduate students were to assist them but they could only do so insofar as Adelman and Walker could train them 'on the spot' (all the BU students

were experienced empirical researchers - but none were familiar with qualitative methodologies). There was no time for that. Nor was there time to coordinate schedules. The BU students had commitments elsewhere; Adelman and Walker often chose not to go into the school - to ease off, to spend time at the motel writing up notes, to take a rest, to cope with the theft of their hire-car (along with Walker's fieldnotes). In the event, the Boston team felt cheated of a more substantial role and our report suffered the loss of some of their observations and, most notably, of records of student interactions in, for example, the playground. This study of a bilingual school includes little observation of Spanish language interactions - severely hampering, amongst other things, analysis of Hispanic pedagogy and comparison with the English language equivalent.

For these reasons there were considerable gaps following the first fieldwork phase. There had been no time to make observations of the less formal interactions in and out of the school, for example. The extremely complex curriculum organisation had not been fully comprehended or researched, and much factual detail was either missing or had to be checked. MacDonald's decision was to switch Kushner from his role in assisting with negotiation of the overview (now Section 1) to conducting further fieldwork in the school and negotiating the school account.

Such problems may be eased or exacerbated by the research design. Arguably, the difficulties Adelman and Walker faced were compounded by a lack of an issues-focus other than those culled from the research literature. MacDonald conducted his studies of the wider boundaries to the case study concurrent with Adelman and Walker's research of the school. The three researchers stayed at the same motel in Boston, intending to share experiences in the evenings and to explore the continuity (or otherwise) of issues in and beyond the school. In the event, the three found it harder as the days went by to break out of their increasingly context-bound concerns. Diaries conflicted, to compound the problem, and, by the end of the three weeks of the first phase, MacDonald was working virtually independently of the other two. Interactions were more and more confined to management problems. Within the school there were also problems of role specification. Adelman had to leave classrooms to cover for Walker on occasions whilst Walker had to conduct classroom observations to achieve the coverage. In any case, both came under pressure

from some teachers to engage in unplanned activities. Adelman, in particular, was uncomfortable with the multiple roles he had to carry - fieldworker, trainer, coordinator, negotiator. He was to reflect, in an internal note:

> *"We were hard pressed to maintain our priorities. Democratic Evaluation is premised on the principle of right of access to data being under the regulation of the evaluators. This may be in the case of the context section of the study but was impossible to maintain within the school or with its networks. Methods and techniques of collection and presentation of information such as portrayal and observation and even interview, are relatively easy to conduct compared to the maintenance of an overall methodological/procedural approach such as Democratic Evaluation."*

The isolation of the two main efforts represented a forced partition of what was intended to be an integrated methodology. MacDonald's piece, in the event, was researched independently and became known (to the British team) as the 'contextual study'. 'Contextual', that is, to the 'school case study'. Indeed, in the final drafts that were sent to preliminary readers the discontinuity between the two pieces was emphasised and a number of the readers saw this as a flimsy device to escape a complex analysis that would link the two. They were right. It was in the writing of the conclusion - more than eighteen months after the last fieldwork contact - that the analysis was properly conducted and continuities were finally discovered. It was only at this late point in the study that the boundaries which had hitherto separated school from context were finally bridged and the reintegration of the methodology and the account was achieved.

The process of reintegration and of finally defining the whole case might have been eased with a different design. MacDonald might have completed his research before Adelman and Walker and given them an issues-structure to start from. He might otherwise have gone into the field after them and worked from their issues. The options offer

different methodological benefits and costs. As it was planned the promise was of simultaneous interaction during which each researcher could moderate the effects of contamination by the others and, at the same time explore the continuities. Had the efforts been staggered the structure might have been more robust and the issues focus sharper. But there were dangers in that the 'context' piece might have been overly deterministic or the school study reductionist - depending upon which preceded the other.

We could characterise this study as an initial conception of a unified case which was componentised in its operational designs for purposes of role specification; disintegrated in its pressurised operation as roles became redefined; and reconstructed back into its original unity by the more leisurely process of theorising and analysis.

The plan and the action

Earlier in this report we outlined the research design for the study. In its operation the study was characterised as much by the fermentation of performance as by the formula of the design. What follows is a diagram giving, on the left, the plan as set out in the original proposal and, on the right, a brief synopsis of what transpired.

PROPOSAL	OUTCOME
Preliminary phase: MacDonald's first site visit (November 1978)	Various delays lead to a hasty decision to conduct fieldwork in October 1979.
Phase One - October 1979	
Fieldwork originally planned for April 1979. The CARE team complete their plans for the fieldwork phase. The three Boston University students paired with MacDonald, Walker and Adelman begin visiting the Rafael Hernandez to get acquainted with the staff and students. Maria Brisk completes	Walker visits Boston to assist Maria Brisk in negotiating the study through a Boston University 'Research on human subjects' committee, in renewing contact with the School Committee and the School and in establishing detailed conditions for access first agreed in principle during MacDonald's earlier site visit.

(PROPOSAL)	(OUTCOME)
plans for the supplementary studies of bilingual programmes in Boston with other graduate students.	Walker sees little of the graduate students who, unexpectedly, are not free of regular work and study commitments. This, together with Adelman and Walker's later difficulties in maintaining a research schedule creates further difficulties in synchronising their work as planned in the design.
Phase Two - Oct/Nov 1979	
The main fieldwork phase. MacDonald, Walker and Adelman visit Boston for three weeks, Walker and Adelman to study the Rafael Hernandez, MacDonald to begin with the school then move out into broader educational, social, economic and political context of bilingual schooling in Boston. At the same time the Boston University programme of supplementary studies also begins fieldwork which will continue until the end of the school term.	MacDonald decides to begin with the wider context rather than in the school, and while trying to arrange interviews reads voraciously. At the end of three weeks he completes his interview programme. Meanwhile Adelman and Walker share mixed fortunes in the school after a promising start. Planning evening interaction between the three for continuity of issues focus is difficult. Adelman and Walker share experience in the school but MacDonald somewhat isolated in his concern with issue analysis. Several days in the school lost though attempting to make other contacts; staying away to relieve research pressure; brief writing-up periods; hire-car stolen. Main observations, including the Principal's role, completed though only limited interviews with teachers and aides. Complexities of curriculum management and special programmes not fully penetrated. Specialist roles (Adelman/classrooms; Walker/school) break down under pressure of time and the complexity of the school. Proves difficult simultaneously to train, supervise and cooperate with BU students whilst observing sometimes critical teachers. In the event the BU students bilingual resource underused and Spanish language observations outside the classroom and interviews with parents lost or minimal. Maria Brisk reluctant to pursue satellite studies without better briefing.
January 1980	Maria Brisk visits CARE on supplementary Ford money to be brief on key issues to structure satellite studies.

(PROPOSAL)	(OUTCOME)
Phase Three. Dec.79 - April 1980	
Processing and drafting. During this period all those involved in the study (with the exception of Kushner) will be processing the data and writing it up. The CARE researchers will set aside three weeks each to this task. They will also integrate reports from Boston University into the emerging draft as and when they become available.	Walker and MacDonald in Norwich, Adelman in Reading (150 miles away) so lack of discussion/coordination in drafting. Change in schedule means other pressures on the team and concentrated writing spells difficult to organise. Little sharing of analytical tasks. Lack of penetration in fieldwork makes analysis difficult so that draft school report a combination of literature review and raw data. MacDonald's section in good shape but only part-written. Boston team complete their satellite studies but behind schedule with negotiating and final drafting. By now it is clear that "the emerging draft" is fragmented and each part will have to be trated separately for negotiation purposes.
Phase Four. May 1980	
Circulation of the draft study in Boston by Maria Brisk.	MacDonald's section incomplete; BU section incomplete; RH study finished in very rough form one week before re-scheduled second fieldwork visit in April. CARE team nervous about RH study and prefer Kushner to present report to the school rather than to mail it in advance. Adelman meets Kushner at Airport with completed first draft. They agree on 'eleventh-hour' amendments.
Phase Five. June 1980	
MacDonald and Kushner visit Boston for two weeks to negotiate the report with participants and to collect their critiques.	Actual date April 1980. MacDonald and Kushner visit Boston but Kushner to work exclusively in RH. MacDonald continues writing up 'in situ' and updates with more interviews. Kushner encounters strong reaction against report from RH staff who regard it as "disappointing" and inadequate. MacDonald hesitant to continue but agrees to extend Kushner's visit by one week to (a) negotiate change and improvements, and (b) to conduct more fieldwork. Intention to negotiate whole

(PROPOSAL)	(OUTCOME)
	RH report with the staff collectively but strength of response demands individual negotiations with teachers and aides. Since this visit coincided with Easter vacation (RH closed for one week) Kushner spends 4 weeks in all.
Phase Six. June/July 1980	
Writing conference for the CARE research team to incorporate critiques. Each will set aside two weeks for this task.	Kushner reports back to Adelman and Walker - "conference" produces a second (substantially longer and different) draft which incorporates pieces on curriculum organisation and teacher perspectives. MacDonald pursues context section autonomously - still incomplete; Maria Brisk still synthesising satellite studies. MacDonald sends out transcripts of his interviews to his subjects for first-stage clearance of the data.
June 1980	Kushner and MacDonald return to Boston supported by supplementary grant from Ford. MacDonald for final up-date and filling gaps - continues writing 'in situ'; Kushner for final negotiation with school. Part III of case study generated through negotiation along with substantial changes. School 'do not object' to use of report. Kushner returns to Norwich and reports back. Adelman/Kushner are co-presenters of a workshop on case study methods at the American Summer Institute of Linguistics at Albuquerque. They draw on the Boston study for illustration.
September 1980	
Allowing for final thoughts, additional negotiations, comments by Boston University colleagues, the final report will be delivered in September 1980.	MacDonald in America on visiting lectureship; Walker in Australia similarly employed. CARE team dispersed but still writing and talking - but only on data presentation. No significant analysis as yet towards a conclusion.
October 1980	Brisk completes BU studies which are fully negotiated
February 1981	Sections I and II in final draft form. MacDonald sends Section I to his respondents for negotiation; Kushner

(PROPOSAL)	(OUTCOME)
	sends Section II to range of selected readers for critique. Ford commissions four 'expert' readers to produce critique of both.
Feb 1981 - April 1982	CARE receives BU report, and extensive critique from correspondents. CARE team meets intermittnetly to talk and engage in preliminary analysis. April 1981 MacDonald attends AERA on Ford consultancy and meets with prominent members of the Federal bilingual community. Ford Foundation press CARE for delivery. Adelman co-organises conference on aspects of bilingual education in Britain at which Boston study reported. Budget expended. Final (narrative) report to Ford Foundation in April 1981.
May-July 1982	MacDonald proposes supplementary grant to Ford Foundation for publication of the study. Whilst awaiting response reassembles team who re-write the RH study accounting for received critique, edit the BU studies; conduct full curriculum analysis and finally write concluding sections - which are not negotiated, but which are based upon an increasingly confident 'theory of the case'.
August 1982	

The point of this somewhat prolix account is, whilst offering some fine grain detail on the research process, to demonstrate the distance between performance and design. Clearly, there will be grounds for culpability in there - the delay in producing the report after negotiations were complete owes much to the failure of the British team to capitalise on those moments they set aside for completion - and to the flexible patience of the Ford Foundation. But it is important to recognise that qualitative methodologies expose research teams as much to the caprice of circumstance as to the great and creative gains of serendipity.

Social relationships, condensed fieldwork and negotiation

Educational fieldworkers enjoy privileged social conventions which allow them to establish intimacies quickly with participants in their studies. But the conventions have a price. Knowledge of self and of others as well as of the surroundings is central to the delicate management of the specialised interactions which result. Condensed fieldwork stresses interaction and at close quarters understandings can be challenged. The fieldworker is often asked (implicitly) to demonstrate his or her credentials for witnessing the intimacies of educational practice. Since, in condensed research, there is insufficient time to establish robust affinities, special kinds of relationships are entered into to permit the exploration of these intimacies. These relationships are hard to characterise.

It is no easy task, for example, to find a name which suggests a role for the school staff in this study. 'Collaborator' reflects our aspiration more than their interest; 'participant' is closer but conceals the possibility that the study was an offer that may have been hard to refuse; 'respondent' and 'subject' imply a passiveness which is simply inaccurate given our emphasis on negotiated accounts. We tend to look for a nomenclature which suggests reciprocity in the research act, though our search for reciprocity is severely hampered by our lack of understanding of where and how it might be generated.

Adelman and Walker had a demanding role. They were the first real intruders to the school (- and, to some extent, to the system. The Boston School Committee had maintained a partially effective moratorium on research since Garrity.) They had to collect the bulk of the primary data, and it was essential to establish a basis for easy transactions with the school staff. Beyond that they could expect little time to reflect on the nature of the relationships. On the face of it they were hospitably received and quick friendships were established with teachers (less so with the aides). The two pulled out of the school when they 'sensed' that the relationships were being strained - when transactions were becoming more stressful- they left the school at the close of their fieldwork having given a little party to which they donated chocolate cakes and a saxophone concert. Even so, at the fieldwork stage the

researcher finds it hard to distinguish conviviality from courtesy; just as a teacher would find it hard to distinguish a researcher's desire to 'get it right' from an enthusiasm to 'get it out'. The relationships were still provisional and the school's judgement awaited the coming of the draft report. When the first draft report was presented to the school by Kushner the reaction was one of considerable hostility. One of the words most commonly used by the teachers to describe their reactions was "disappointment". They had seen themselves as entering into a trade with the research team - but their offer of access had not been matched with a good report. Before going into the school the British team had relied heavily upon the sorts of knowledge most easily available to us for anticipating issues. Adelman had taken responsibility for accumulating a range of questions from the research literature and we had become familiarised with a vocabulary - 'code-switching' 'transition/maintenance', 'interference', etc. - which, for the research community, signified issues central to bilingual education. The first draft report carried prominent traces of this array of putative issues and was derided by the school as evidence of our inability to comprehend the distinctive character of the Hernandez operation. We had not surprised them. We had, they said, told them nothing new. Principally, however, we appeared to the school staff unable to shed our association with the social science which had dogged the Hispanics' attempts to be properly heard in the esoteric research dialogues concerning bilingual education. Even so, that draft comprised an attempt to operate our preferred methodology - portrayal. We had included some biographical data on the teachers and had identified them with their pedagogies. Set against what the teachers saw to be attempts to distance ourselves through the use of a social science discourse, this was taken to be an unreciprocated intrusion of privacy. We even got their names wrong.

To some extent, such problems eased through time and exposure. We were perceived as 'qualifying' by stages to receive increasingly sophisticated data. The school managed the pace of our understanding - fully exploiting the negotiation procedures we offered by trading access and data for greater acknowledgement of their concerns. The third part of the Hernandez study - written only after the third site visit - was the outcome of such a trade. That section did not emerge easily, however. When

negotiation worked and the school participated in the reconstruction of our account we felt the stress. Initially, Kushner was resistant to the school's assertion that warm social relationships were a central feature of the programme. He dismissed that as rhetorical and a statement of little more than what might be expected of schools. The staff fought his resistance by encouraging him to join in many of the social events in and outside the school. 'Do you see what we mean?', was frequently in his ears.

The process of negotiation did, however, approach reciprocation allowing Kushner (who was free of the pressures Adelman and Walker had felt) to enter into more yielding relationships. Not having been involved in the primary fieldwork he could distance himself from the report and encourage critique free of some of the reservations the staff might otherwise have felt had they been faced with one of the authors. He was encouraged by MacDonald to take full advantage of his independence and to say (if it was honestly felt) that he, himself, disliked some of the draft. Even so, picking up reactions took a full week - starting with a group meeting of teachers and, the next day, of aides. MacDonald's instructions to Kushner had been to negotiate the report collectively with the staff, rather than to threaten the exercise with fragmentation and too-widely dispersed control of the data. In the event individual negotiations were the only way to clear the personalised data and were an essential recourse to encourage response from a disillusioned and, now, apathetic staff. As negotiations wore on and the report improved incrementally, the research team maintained a lively interest. For the school, the process became somewhat tedious, the issues stale, the energy more difficult to muster. Our reports read, increasingly, like a history beyond which the school was moving all the time.

We are still left with the difficulty of adequately capturing the nature of the role played by the staff. How did they imagine their part? There was the added confusion of their lack of familiarity with this kind of research. Frequently it appeared that they were at a loss in framing an appropriate response to our questions. For example, during negotiations Kushner pressed hard to turn a generalised hostility into specific and remediable critique. But it was difficult to identify critique of content from critique of style. 'Why all the biographical data?', was a

common question. 'Why do you say I'm always laughing?', one teacher asked. 'Why do you say the streets are full of broken glass? You make it sound like a slum!', protested an aide who lived in the area.

Ford had commissioned us partly for the 'novelty' (but appropriateness) of our methodological approach. Novelty, to the teachers, however, meant lack of understanding and, therefore, some denial of access. This compromised the neutrality of the enterprise.

Mutuality of this kind of research is contingent upon a shared perception of the 'theory of significance' ascribed to the data. When the staff saw the first report draft they criticised it for being too "mechanistic", too "academic" - for carrying too much emphasis on individuals - not enough on the school community. Negotiations only succeeded insofar as they were able to develop a new and shared 'theory of significance' for the data - one that emphasised data on the warmth of social interactions between staff and students.

There is, clearly, an element of compromise implicit in this process (not too much - we did not negotiate our conclusions, which was another source of frustration for the staff). As much as anything, what compromise there might have been came from the loneliness and alienation which threatened Kushner upon the loss of mutuality. Case studies are always emotionally demanding even with good relationships. Immediately following Kushner's first report on school reactions, MacDonald (meeting him in Boston) considered foreclosing on the study. Kushner persuaded him otherwise (a neophyte dog wanting his day). But at no time did the school threaten to suppress the report or to exclude us. They had no need to. The greatest sanction they could hold against us was denying the plausibility of our account. We could publish the account - they could disown it and leave it in the purgatory of an outsider's partial view. Given our aspiration to evaluate policy against the needs and demands of practice, a substantial pillar in our claim to validity would be shorn away. Failure to produce an account both fair and plausible in the estimation of practitioners would deprive our recommendations of any authority save for our ability to present forceful polemic. As it transpired, the account was negotiated with the staff contributing to the

development of the account. The school offered no resistance to publication and declared itself satisfied but unimpressed. Which is as much as we could expect from a group of professionals to such a politicised arena wherein anything but advocacy is a potential and serious threat. In a world where critics are traitors we rest content with free passage.

Writing of the relations between research and federal policy in bilingual education, Rotberg (1982) argues the need for "national studies of school districts describing the actual operation of bilingual programmes and how they can be improved". She argues that bilingual education has developed with such local diversity that descriptive studies of local efforts could constitute a range of policy options for school districts and a guide for federal proaction. The research areas she identifies as promising useful data include:

> "the characteristics of services provided - type of instructional approaches....
>
> the language skills and training of teachers....
>
> the effects on outcomes not directly related to student achievement, such as integration....
>
> the description of effective programs for language-minority children in integrated settings....
>
> the identification of exemplary foreign-language instructional techniques in the United States and other countries... "

Our Boston-based case study aspired to provide this range of data. In our experience, the generation of descriptive (qualitative) data, is problematic. So is the process of gaining access and negotiating accounts. F .. more so. These problems are the ones which tend to mitigate our attempts to portray participant realities. Producing descriptive accounts of schooling is not the whole problem. It is producing accounts which make sense of the problems and possibilities of practice - in the eyes of practitioners - which makes for a more demanding research task. Generating educational policy options which are not grounded in the experience of educators merely generates needs for further (remedial) policy studies. If we succeeded in addressing Rotberg's issues we barely did so - and we are still left with two questions. Is our account - which favours description and analysis over recommendation and prescription - sufficiently focussed and penetrable to be useful in a policy setting? Would the Hernandez School allow us back in?

In the end, the answer to the question raised at the opening of this appendix is not too hard to answer. Why were we granted access to the school? Probably because the values the school embraces would make it hard for them to refuse. "Lighthouse schools", as we characterised them earlier, have to shine. Even so, one of the school staff wrote to us after the final negotiation of the account:

> *"Someone remarked that some of the study read like an old gossip column and was, therefore, flat. Newness is of the essence to gossip, she said. I shared the feeling. After reading the study, I couldn't help feeling that it seems so dated. So much has changed since! ... Other members of the staff questioned the value of the study, whether anyone would be affected by it, since it is so bound up by the personalities of the people mentioned. .... The study took a great deal of energy."*

Questioning how you get in, how you get out and whether you could get in again is crucial. One finding, rediscovered in this study, of major import to policy makers and developers is that bilingual educators have a deep-seated mistrust of observers. This ultimately threatens the intelligence of policy development. Which is not an argument for shying away from descriptive studies. We share Rotberg's conviction that studies of process are necessary for generating policy options. If this appendix is self-critical it should end by saying that all involved almost certainly feel they would do it better 'next time'. The argument is more about being sensitive to the need for encouraging a tradition of policy-related descriptive studies. Until such time as researchers develop sufficient competence, schools need the confidence and protection to encourage them to participate. What is missing from Rotberg's assertion that policy is (should be?) dependent upon research is the dependence researchers have on practitioners.

NOTES:

1. SAFARI - Success and Failure and Recent Innovation. A four year project funded to look at the impact of the curriculum reform movement in Britain of the 1960s and focussing upon four national curriculum development projects. See references for MacDonald & Walker (1974) and Norris (1977) for methodological procedures and issues explored by SAFARI.

2. See, for example, Colin Lacey's (1976) description of how he entered Hightown Grammar School intending to explore participant observation over a 3-year study. The overlay of understandings arising out of analysis of observations led him, eventually, to define what he was doing as case study.

3. A political response to the bureaucratization of evaluation based upon procedures and principles for sharing control of evaluation data with the participants to the evaluation. See MacDonald's chapter in MacDonald & Walker (1974) entitled 'Evaluation and the Control of Education'.

4. For the fuller discussion of issues in evaluation interviews see MacDonald & Sanger (1982).

5a. If you want to destroy a case-study researcher's confidence ask him to define case study. Posterity holds a niche for the successful typologist who can categorize the plethora of efforts varying wildly in epistemological, methodological and procedural character but all called case studies. The definitive collection of writings on case study is Simons, H. (1980) - especially the paper by Kemmis in a chapter entitled 'The Imagination of the Case and the Invention of the Study'. One prominent but brief attempt at producing a typology has been offered in Guba & Lincoln (1982) (pp 270-280).

5b. Respectively: Terry Denny; Adelman, Jenkins & Walker; Louis Smith; Bob Stake; Lawrence Stenhouse.

6. Of course, "disinterest" may not appear to sit easily with the earlier confession of racist bias. The latter, however, refers to congenital characteristics; 'disinterest' is an intellectual endeavour made up by the transformation of aspiration into procedures. Negotiation is the principal procedural tool which tends towards the favour of participant theories over our own - though it is usually only a tendency. 'Disinterest' should not be confused with 'value-free'. We acknowledge our value identity and seek, merely, to suppress it under a welter of values we assume to exist in a pluralist society. Young (1982) suffers the confusion in a powerful article in which he concludes that "passion, anger, joy, disgust, hope and rage should not be excluded from the pages of authentically human endeavour" and argues for a "folk" methodology opposed to the conventional scientific. His concern is to democratise the research process and we share that with him. Should you refer to his article you might, then, take an antidote to his 'passionate' enthusiasm by reading Berger (1974)

and especially the chapter on Political Ethics. He offers an interesting definition of disinterest (though he does not use the word):

> *"Don Juan cannot meet any woman without trying to seduce her, just as the fanatically engaged intellectual cannot encounter any problem without embracing it (in fantasy if not in fact) by political action. And just as Don Juan never really perceives a woman, so is the latter type incapable of seeing a social phenomenon as it really is. In both cases there is the immaturity of being unable to exercise restraint. By contrast, maturity is the capacity to endure distance from the object of one's passion."*

7. For a more extensive discussion of negotiation principles and procedures - based upon the experience of this study - see Kushner & Norris (1981).

8. Our problem was the obverse of what Louis Smith (1977) called the "two-edged sword phenomenon". He revisited, for research, a school district in which he was familiar from previous research. The familiarity promised quick access and an already developed conceptual framework against which to judge the value of data. At the same time it held the danger of exploitation of participants through the researcher's trading on the familiarity.

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